Former Ages never Heard of,

AND

After Ages will Admire.

Or a Brief Review of the moſt Materiall

PARLIAMENTARY

TRANSACTIONS.

Beginning, Nov: 3. 1640.

WHEREIN

The Remarkeable Paſſages both of their Civil and Martial Affaires, are continued unto this preſent Year.

Publiſhed as a Breviary, leading all along ſucceſſively, as they fell out in their ſeverall years: So that if any man will be informed of any remarkeable Paſſage, he may turne to the year, and ſo ſee in ſome meaſure, in what Moneth thereof it was accompliſhed.

For Information of ſuch as are altogether ignorant of the riſe and progreſſe of theſe Times.

A Work worthy to be kept in Record, and communicated to Poſterity.

Who is wiſe, and he ſhall underſtand theſe things? prudent, and he ſhall know them? for the wayes of the Lord are right, and the juſt ſhall walk in them: but the tranſgreſſors ſhall fall therein. Hoſea 14. 9.

LONDON: Printed by *M. S.* for *Tho: Jenner*, at the South-Entrance of the Royal *EXCHANGE*, 1654.

The Chronology.

IN the first year of King *Charls* his Reign, a Parliament being called at *Oxford*, two Subsidies were granted, no grievances removed, but the said Parliament soon dissolved. The sad effects which the dissolution of this Parliament produced, were the losse of *Rochel*, by the unhappy help of *Englands* ships. The diversion of a most facile and hopeful war from the *West Indies*, to a most expensive and successelesse attempt on *Cales*. The attempt on the Isle of *Ree*, and thereby a precipitate breach of peace with *France*, to our great losse. A peace concluded with *Spain*, without consent of Parliament, contrary to a promise formerly made to the Kingdome by King *James*, a little before his death; whereby the cause of the *Palatinate* was altogether most shamefully deserted by us. The Kingdome suddenly billetted with Souldiers, and a concomitant project set on foot for *Germane* Horses, to force men by fear to fall before arbitrary and tyrannical Taxations, continually to be laid upon them.

2d *Parliament*. The dissolution of a second Parliament at *Westminster*, in the second year, after a declarative grant of no lesse then five Subsidies, and the sad issues that flowed to the Kingdom thereupon. As first, the violent exacting from the people that mighty sum of the five Subsidies, or a sum equal to it by a Commission for a Royal Loan. Many worthy Gentlemen imprisoned and vexed, that refused to pay it. Great sums extorted by Privy Seals and Excises, and the most hopeful Petition of Right blasted.

3d A third Parliament called, and quickly broken in the fourteenth year of the King, the best Members clapt up close Prisoners, denied all ordinary and extraordinary comforts of life; and so that Parliament was dissolved. Opprobrious Declarations published to asperse the proceedings of the last Parliament, yea Proclamations set out to those effects, thereby extreamly to dishearten the Subjects, yea, and plainly forbidding them once to name a Parliament, or to desire them any more. Whence immediately gushed out the violent inundations of mighty sums of money, got by that strange project of Knight hood, yet under a colour of Law. The most burthensome Book of Rates, the unheard of Taxation of Ship-money, the enlargement of Forrests, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the injurious Taxation of Coat and Conduct money, the forcible taking away of the Trained Bands Arms, ingrossing Gunpowder into their hands in the Tower of *London*. The destruction of the Forrest of *Dean*, which was sold to Papists,

whence we had all our timber for Shipping. Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, and Sea Coal; yea, almost of all things in the Kingdome of most necessary and common use. Restraint in trades and habitations, for refusall of which foresaid heavy pressures, many were vext with long and languishing suits, some fined and confined to Prisons, to the losse of health in many, of life in some; some having their Houses broken open, their Goods seized on, their Studies or Closets searched for Writings, Books, and papers to undo them: some interrupted also in their Sea-Voyages, and their Ships taken from them.

The crushing cruelties of the Star-Chamber Court, and Councel Table, where the Recorder of *Salisbury* was greatly fined for demolishing the Picture of the first person in the Trinity, in their great Cathedrall. Thus far for the miseries of the Common-wealth; Popish Ceremonies, Romish innovations, and such like outrages of the Arch Prelate of *Canterbury*, and his Prelaticall Agents and Instruments, over the whole Kingdome, in matters of Religion, Divine worship, and spiritual cases of conscience. Additions in the Oath administred to the King, at his first inauguration to the Crown, by the Arch-Bishop. Fines, Imprisonments, stigmatizings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gagges, confinements, and banishments; yea, and that into perpetual close imprisonments, in the most desolate, remote, and (as they hoped and intended) remotest parts of the Kingdome, Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Bastwicke*, Mr. *Prin*. The ruinating of the Feoffees for buying in of Impropriations, and the advancing to Ecclesiasticall livings *Arminians*, silencing with deprivations, degradations, and excommunications, almost all the most pious Pastors over the Land, whom they could catch in their snares, and all this under a pretence of peace, unity, and conformity. *Printing Presses* set open for the Printing and publishing of all Popish and Arminian Tenets, but shut up and restrained from printing sound Doctrines.

Nay, not only thus lamentably molested in *England*, but attempted the like in *Scotland*, indeavouring to impose upon them a New Liturgy, and a Book of Canons. They refusing of them, were called and counted Rebels and Traytors; yea, so proclaimed in all Churches in *England*, and an Army was also raised to oppresse and suppresse them. A mighty and tumultuous rising of Apprentices and young men in *Southwark* and *Lambeth* side, with Clubs and other weapons, especially at the Arch Bishops house, which put him in such a fright, as made him flye to *Croyden*, to convey himselfe to some more private and remote place: And although *Pharoahs* Magicians were so honest, that at the sight of the dust of the earth turned into lice, they cryed out, *It was the finger of God*; but he grew more and more outragious, and caused one to be hanged and quartered, and his head set on *London*-Bridge, who said at his execution, he came there by accident, and he must dye.

Scotland raising an Army in their own just defence, and by force of Arms in-

inforcing their own peace. A firſt pacification being then made by the King, and ſome of his Nobility, and ratified under Hand & Seal, 'twixt them and the Scots, yet was it ſhortly after quite broken off by the Arch-Prelate of *Canterbury*, and the E: of *Strafford*, and burnt by the Hangman at the *Exchange*.

4 *Parliament.* A fourth Parliament was thereupon ſhortly after called again, by thoſe complotters means, but to a very ill intent, and

and another Parliament ſummoned alſo at the ſame time by the Earl of *Strafford* in *Ireland*, both of them only to levy and procure moneys to raiſe another Army, and wage a new War againſt the *Scots*. The Ships and Goods of *Scotland*, were in all parts and Ports of this Land, and of *Ireland* alſo, ſurprized and ſeized on for the King, their Commiſſioners denied audience to make their juſt Defence to the King, and the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, and *England* too, hereupon much diſtracted and diſtempered with levying of moneys, and impriſoning all amongſt us that refuſed the ſame. This Parliament alſo refuſing to comply with the King, *Canterbury*, and *Strafford*, in this Epiſcopal War againſt the *Scots*, was ſoon diſſolved and broken up by them, and thereupon they returned to their former wayes of waſt and confuſion, and the very next day after the Diſſolution thereof, ſome eminent Members of both Houſes had their Chambers and Studies, yea their Cabinets, and very pockets of their wearing Cloaths (betimes in the morning, before they were out of their Beds) ſearched for Letters and Writings, and ſome of them impriſoned, and a falſe and moſt ſcandalous Declaration was publiſhed againſt the Houſe of Commons in the Kings Name.

A Forced Loan of money was attempted in the City of *London*, to be made a preſident (if it prevailed there) for the whole Kingdome, but ſome Aldermen refuſing, were ſorely threatned and impriſoned. In which interim, the Clergies Convocation continuing, (notwithſtanding the Diſſolution of the Parliament) New Conſcience-oppreſſing Canons were forged, and a ſtrange *Oath* with an *&c.* in it was framed for the eſtabliſhing of the Biſhops Hierarchy with ſevere puniſhments on the refuſers to take it.

The OATH.

That I A. B. *doe Sweare that I doe approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my ſelfe or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popiſh Doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed: Nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the Government of this Church, by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand. Nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpations and ſuperſtitions of the See of Rome. And all theſe things I doe plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe, and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mentall evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And this I doe heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Chriſtian.* So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt.

In this Convocation ſore Taxations were alſo impoſed upon the whole Clergy, even no leſſe then ſix Subſidies, beſides a bountifull Con-

Contribution to forward that intended War againſt *Scotland*. For the advancing of which ſaid ſums for this War, the Popiſh were moſt free and forward; yea, and a ſolemn Prayer was compoſed and impoſed by the Biſhops on their Miniſters every where, to be uſed and read in all Churches, againſt the *Scots*, as Rebels and Traytors. The Papiſts alſo in a high meaſure enjoyed even almoſt a total Toleration, and a *Popes Nuncio* ſuffered amongſt us to act and govern all Romiſh affairs, yea a kind of private Popiſh Parliament kept in the Kingdome, and Popiſh Juriſdictions erected among them. Commiſſioners were alſo (ſecretly) iſſued out for ſome great and eminent Papiſts, for Martial Commands, for levying of Souldiers, & ſtrengthning their party with Arms and Ammunition of all ſorts, and in great plenty. His Majeſties Treaſure was by theſe means ſo extreamly exhauſted, and his Revenues ſo anticipated, that he was forced to compell (as it were) his owne Servants, Judges, and Officers of all ſorts, to lend him great ſums of money, and Priſons filled with refuſers of theſe and the other illegall payments; yea many High-Sheriffs ſummoned in the Star-Chamber, and to the Councel board, and ſome of them impriſoned for not being quick enough in levying of Ship-money, and ſuch like intolerable Taxations.

In ſum, the whole Land was now brought into a lamentable and languiſhing condition, of being moſt miſerably bought and ſold to any that could give and contribute moſt of might and malice againſt us, and no hope of humane help, but dolour, deſperation, and deſtruction to be the portion of all. In which interim, the *Scots* being entred our Kingdome for their own defence, the King had advanced his Royal-Standard at *Yorke*, where the cream of the Kingdom, Nobles and Gentry being aſſembled, and a Treaty betwixt the prime of both Armies had at *Rippon*, for a fair and peaceable accommodation, the King was, at laſt, inforced to take his Nobles Councel, and in the firſt place a ceſſation of Arms agreed on, and then a fifth Parl. was neceſſitouſly reſolved on to begin, *Nov:* 3. 1640.

5th *Parliament*. Letters from the King, Queen, Popiſh Earls, Lords, Knights, and Gentry, poſt into all parts of the Kingdome, to make a ſtrong party for them. Shortly after, a very formidable Spaniſh Fleet, or Armado, appeared on our Engliſh narrow Seas, in ſight of *Dover*, and was coming in (as was on very ſtrong grounds more then probably conjectured) as a third party, to help to deſtroy us; the *Spaniards* hoping that by this time, we and the *Scots* were together by the ears, but they were by Gods mercy, beaten off from us by our Neighbours of *Holland*, and we fighting againſt them, fought againſt our friends.

The Souldiers in their paſſage to *York* turn Reformers, pull down Popiſh Pictures, break down rails, turn Altars into Tables, & thoſe

Popiſh

Popiſh Commanders, that ware to command them, they forced to eat fleſh on Fridays, thruſting it down their throats, and ſome they ſlew. In the time of ours and the *Scots* Armies reſiding in the *North*, which was in *June*, 1641. Malignant Lords endeavoured to bring it out of the North, Southward, and ſo to *London*, to compell the Parl. to ſuch limits and rules as they thought fit, whereupon the Parl. entred upon this following Proteſtation.

Die Veneris, 30 *July*, 1641.

WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe in Parl. finding to the great grief of our hearts, that the deſigns of the Prieſts, Jeſuites, and other adherents to the Sea of *Rome*, have of late been more boldly and frequently put in practice then formerly, to the undermining and danger of the ruine of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, in his Majeſties Dominions eſtabliſhed: And finding alſo that they have been and having juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that there are ſtill even during this ſitting in Parliament, endeavours to ſubvert the fundamentall Lawes of *England* and *Ireland*, and to introduce the exerciſe of an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government, by moſt pernicious and wicked counſels, practices, plots, and conſpiracies: And that the long intermiſſion, and unhappy breach of Parliam. hath occaſioned many illegall Taxations, whereupon the ſubject hath been proſecuted and grieved: And that divers Innovations and ſuperſtitions have been brought into the Church, multitudes driven out of his Majeſties Dominions, jealouſies raiſed and fomented betwixt the King and his people, a Popiſh Army levyed in *Ireland*, and two Armies brought into the bowels of his Kingdom, to the hazzard of his Majeſties Royal perſon, the conſumption of the Revenues of the Crown and Treaſure of his Kingdome: And laſtly, finding great cauſe of jealouſie that endeavours have been, and are uſed to bring the Engliſh Army into a miſunderſtanding of this Parl. thereby to incline that Army with force to bring to paſſe thoſe wicked Councels, Have therefore thought good to joyne our ſelves in a Declaration of our united affections and reſolutions, and to make this enſuing Proteſtation.

The Proteſtation.

I A. B. *Do in the preſence of Almighty God, Promiſe, Vow, and Proteſt to maintaine and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and ſtate, the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt Popery and Popiſh Innovations, within this Realme, contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegiance, his Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, as alſo the power and priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull rights and liberties of the Subject, and every perſon that maketh this Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall doe, in the lawfull pur-*

purſuance of the ſame. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good wayes and means endeavour, to bring to condigne puniſhment, all ſuch as ſhall either by force, practice, counſels, plots, conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, doe any thing to the contrary of any thing in this preſent Proteſtation contained. And further, that I ſhall in all juſt and honourable wayes endeavour to preſerve the union and peace between the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and neither for hope, fear, nor other reſpect, ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, Vow, and Proteſtation.*

At the beginning of the Parliament (*Nov.* 3. 1640.) there was a diligent inquiſition after oppreſſions and oppreſſors, and firſt upon the Petition of M^rrs *Baſtwicke*, and M^rrs *Burton*, two widowed wives, and a Petition exhibited in the behalfe of Mr *Pryn*, Dr. *Laighton*, Mr. *Smart*, Mr. *Walker*, Mr. *Foxley*, Mr. *Lilburn*, and many others, ſet at liberty, ſome being baniſht, and all cloſe Priſoners, others faſt fettered in irons, and their wives debar'd from coming to them.

Decemb. 1640. The Earl of *Strafford*, and *Laud* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, impeached of High Treaſon; *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*, of Treaſon, *Windebank* and *Finch* fled. The *Scots* ſhips that were taken before the Parl. began, reſtored, and 4000. *l.* given to rig them, 300000. *l.* towards their loſſes, and all Books, Libels, and Proclamations againſt the *Scots* called in. *February*, A Bill ſigned for Triennial Parl. fix Subſidies, Poll money, and a perſonall aſſeſment of the whole Kingdome. *May*, a Bill ſigned that the Parl. ſhould not be diſſolved without their conſent; Lord *Strafford* beheaded, the *High Commiſſion* Court, and *Star Chamber* put down, the Parl. proceeded againſt Delinquent Judges about Ship-money.

The Earl of Strafford's *Speech on the Scaffold*, May 12. 1641.

MY Lord Primate of *Ireland*, (and my Lords and the reſt of theſe Gentlemen) it is a very great comfort to me, to have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you a long time, I ſhould be glad to obtain ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words, but doubt I ſhall not; my Lord, I come hither by the good will and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay the laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death, and by the bleſſing of that God to riſe again through the mercies of Chriſt Jeſus to eternall glory; I wiſh I had been private, that I might have been heard; my Lord, if I might be ſo much beholding to you, that I might uſe a few words, I ſhould take it for a very great courteſie; my Lord, I come hither to ſubmit to that judgment which hath paſt againſt me, I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I do freely forgive all the world, a forgiveneſſe that is not ſpoken from the teeth outward (as they ſay) but from my heart, I ſpeak it in the preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not ſo much as a diſpleaſing thought

in me, arising to any creature; I thank God I may say truly, and my conscience bears me witnesse, that in all my services since I have had the honour to serve his Majesty in any employment, I never had any thing in my heart, but the joynt and individuall prosperity of King and people, if it hath been my hap to be misconstrued, it is the common portion of us all while we are in this life, the righteous judgment is hereafter, here we are subject to error, and apt to be

mis-judged one of another. There is one thing I desire to clear my selfe of, and I am confident I speak it with so much clearnesse, that I hope I shall have your Christian Charity in the belief of it, I did alwayes think that the Parl. of *England* were the happiest constitutions that any Kingdome or any Nation lived under, and under God the means of making King and people happy, so far have I been from being against Parliaments: For my death, I here acquit all the world, and pray God heartily to forgive them; and in particular, my Lord Primate. I am very glad that his Majesty is pleased to conceive me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as the utmost execution of this sentence; I am very glad, and infinitely rejoyce in this mercy of his, and beseech God to turn it to him, and that he may find mercy when he hath most need of it; I wish the Kingdome all the prosperity and happinesse in the world, I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do now professe it from my heart, and do most humbly recommend it to every man here, and wish every man to lay his hand upon his heart, and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happinesse of a people should be

writ

writ in Letters of blood, I fear you are in a wrong way, and I desire Almighty God, that not one drop of my blood may rise up in judgment against you. My Lord, I professe my selfe a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, to the Church wherein I was born, and wherein I was bred, prosperity and happinesse be ever to it: and whereas it hath been said, that I have inclined to Popery, if it be an objection worth answering, let me say truly, that from the time since I was twenty one years of age, till this hour, now going upon forty nine, I never had thought in my heart, to doubt of the truth of my Religion in *England*, and never any had the boldnesse to suggest to me contrary to the best of my remembrance; and so being reconciled to the mercies of Christ Jesus my Saviour, into whose bosome I hope shortly to be gathered; to that eternall happinesse that shall never have end, I desire heartily the forgivenesse of every man, both for any rash or unadvised word, or deed, and desire your prayers: And so my Lord farewell, farewell all the things of this word: Lord strengthen my faith, give me confidence and assurance in the merits of Jesus Christ. I desire you that you would be silent, and joyn in prayers with me, and I trust in God that we shall all meet, and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the accomplishment of all happinesse, where every tear shall be wiped from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: And so God blesse this Kingdome, and Jesus have mercy upon my Soul, *Amen*.

August, 1641. The King went to *Scotland*. *Octob.* The *Irish* Rebellion began, whereby above 100000 Protestants were murdered. *Novemb.* & *Decemb.* The King came from *Scotland* to *London*, and was entertained with most pompous solemnity, and after went to *Hampton* Court, the Parl. presented a Remonstrance, wherein was expressed the Kingdomes grievances, they desire a Guard. Sir *Wil. Belford* was displaced, and *Cottington* made Constable of the Tower, but he was soon displaced, and Col. *Lunsford* was made Lieutenant of the Tower, but he also was displaced, and Sir *John Byron* was made Liev. of the Tower in *Lunsfords* stead, but he also with much ado removed, and Sir *John Conyers* was put in his place.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers now Assembled in Parliament.

The Humble Petition and Protestation of all the Bishops and Prelats now called by his Majesties Writs to attend the Parliament, and present about *London* and *Westminster* for that Service.

That whereas the Petitioners are called up by several and respective Writs and under great penalties to attend the Parl. and have a clear and indubitable right to Vote in Bils, and other matters whatsoever debatable in Parl.

by the ancient Customes, Lawes, and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be Protected by your Majesty, quietly to attend and prosecute that great Service. They humbly Remonstrate and Protest before God, your Majesty, and the noble Lords and Peers now assembled in Parl. that as they have an indubitate right to Sit and Vote in the House of Lords, so are they (if they may be protected from force and violence) most ready and willing to performe their duties accordingly. And that they doe abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, and the maintenance thereof; as also all propension and inclination to any Malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their owne reasons and conscience shall not move them to adhere. But, whereas they have been at severall times violently menaced, affronted and assaulted by multitudes of people, in their coming to perform their services in that honourable House, and lately chased away, and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redresse or protection, upon sundry complaints made in

The High Commission-Court and Starr-Chamber voted doun, and pluralities & non residencias damned by Parliament.

both Houses in these particulari. They likewise humbly protest before your Majesty, and the Noble House of Peers, that saving unto themselves all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit or Vote in the House of Peers, untill your Majesty shall further secure them from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the premisses. Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon fantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objects as may well terrifie men of good resolutions, and much constancy. They doe in all duty and humility protest before your Majesty, and the Peers of that most Honourable House of Parl. against all Lawes, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null, and of none effect, which in their absence since the 29th of this instant Month of Decem-

1641.

1641. *have already paſſed, as likewiſe againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that moſt Honourable Houſe, during the time of this their forced and violent abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe; not denying but if their abſenting of themſelves were willfull and voluntary, that moſt honourable Houſe might proceed in all their premiſſes in their abſence, and this Proteſtation notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching your moſt Excellent Majeſty to command the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers to enter this their Petition and Proteſtation among their Records.*

They will ever pray to God to bleſs, *&c.*

Jo Ebor. Th. Duref. Rob. Co. Lich. Jo. Norw. Jo. Aſa. Gul Ba. & Wels. Geo. Heref. Rob. Ox. Ma. Ely. Godf. Glouc. Jo Peterb. Mor. Land.

Twelve Biſhops were impeached of high Treaſon, and ten impriſoned in the Tower, and afterward all diſabled from ever ſitting in the Parl. they are Voted down root and branch, *Nulla contradicente:* The ſame night there were bonefires and ringing of Bels. All Popiſh Recuſants inhabiting in and about the City, all diſ-affected perſons, and ſuch as being able men, would not lend any money for the defence of the Common-wealth, ſhould forthwith confine themſelves to their own Houſes, and not to goe forth without ſpeciall licenſe. An Ordinance to apprehend diſ-affected perſons in the City, whereof were four Aldermen put in ſafe cuſtody in *Crosby* Houſe, and ſome in *Greſſam* Colledge. A letter ſent to Mr. *Pym.*

Mr. Pym. *Do not think that a guard of men can protect you if you perſiſt in your trayterous courſes and wicked deſigns: I have ſent a Paper-meſſenger to you, and if this does not touch your heart, a Dagger ſhal, ſo ſoon as I am recovered of my plague-ſore. In the mean time you may be forborn, becauſe no better man may be endangered for you.* Repent Traytor.

Jan: 1641. The Iriſh proclaimed Rebels, the King demands five Members, *Lunsford* aſſaulteth the Citizens at *Weſtminſter*, an Act to carry on the War in *Ireland* till it were reduced. *Febr:* King ſigns the Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes. *March*, the Queen went to *Holland*, one of her ſhips ſprung a leak, and much treaſure loſt, and when ſhe return'd, there was a great ſtorm, *Van Trump's* Maſt broke, and after eight dayes turmoil driven back again, broke and loſt 3 ſhips. The King went to *Theobalds*, where a Petition from the Par. was preſented, deſiring him to let the *Militia* abide neer *Lond:* and not carry the Prince away, he being at *Newmarket* the Houſe preſented a Declaration, the King went to *York*, ſends a meſſage to the Parl. that he would raiſe 2000 Foot and 200 Horſe at *Hull*, and go for *Ireland*, Sir *John Hotham* denies the King entrance, in *April* & *May* ſom Members leave their ſeats, and go to the King at *York*. *Binion* a Silk-man, the Kentiſh Malignants, and Sir *Edw: Deering* frame petitions againſt

the

the Parl. but rejected, fined, and impriſoned. The King interdicts the Militia, but the Meſſenger was hang'd at the *Exchange*. The Lords and Gentry of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, petition the King to return to his Parl. the Gentry of *York* ſhire do the like, but rejected. The K. ſet on foot a Commiſſion of Array. *June*, The Great Seal carried to the K. The Earle of *Warwick* Adm. Money and Plate brought in for the Cauſe; the King beſieges *Hull*, 500 men went from *London* to it: Proclamations and Declarations againſt the Parliament read in all Churches and Chappels within the *K.* power. *July*, An Army raiſed, and *Eſſex* made General, the Lord Major of *London* impriſon'd for cauſing the *K.* Commiſſion of Array to be proclaimed; many Proclamat: from the *K.* and Declar: from the Parl. By water the Ship-maſters and Marriners made ready a great number of Long-boats furniſhed with Ordnance, Muskers, and other Sea-warlike inſtruments, their Veſſels gallantly adorned with Flags and Streamers, together with martial muſick, Drums & Trumpets; when they came to *White-hall*, and underſtood that the Parl. were ſafely arriv'd, the Train'd Bands by Land, and the Sea-men by water, let flye their thundring ſhot both ſmal and great, their Trumpets ſounding, and their drums beating in a triumphing and congratulory manner, was a ſingular teſtimony of their cordial affections.

The ſame day *Buckinghamſhire* men, both Gentlemen, Miniſters, and others of that Countrey on Horſback, with their Proteſtations in their Hats, for Reformation of evils in Church and State, and to aſſure their beſt ſervices and aſſiſtance to the Parl. on all juſt occaſions; and out of *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Berk-ſhire*, *Surrey*, and other Counties of the *Kingdome*, came one after another. At *Edge* hill 16 pieces of Canon ſhot againſt 80 of the Earl of *Eſſex* Life-guard, and not one man hurt, and thoſe 80 brake in upon 1600 of the *K.* four of the Parl. Regiments ran away, and ſixteen Troops of Horſe, ſo we were 6000 and they 18000. yet we took their Standard, and cleft Sir *Edw Varney* Standard-bearer in the head, and ſlew the Lord *Lindſey* Generall of the Field. Lord Gen: Magazine of powder to have been blown up, and Sir *John Hotham* killed, by one *David Alexander*, but prevented. Commiſ. granted to popiſh Recuſants to levy men and arms againſt the Parl. The K. received the Iriſh Rebels petition, and permitted their perſons with great favour and allowance about him, calling them good Catholick ſubjects, but rejecting the petition for peace. *Novemb.* A Treaty of peace intended by the Parl. but pretended by the K. where was that bloody bickering at *Brainford* by the K. party. New High-Sheriffs, for the better collecting of the 400000. *l.* Subſidies, intended to have been confirmed to the K. croſt. *Jan* 1643. *Newcaſtle* twice routed, K. party worſted near *Hamly*, *Scots* come into *Engl. March*, *Lichfield* Cloſe taken, the K.

ſends

ſends the Earl of *Glamorgan* into *Irel.* with power to conclude. Dr. *Baſtwick* and Cap. *Lilburn* to be tryed at *Oxford*, but preſerv'd. A letter to all the Freemen Journeymen, and Apprentices of the City, to aſſemble at their ſeveral Halls, to be perſwaded not to yeeld to the Parl. voted ſcandalous.

Mr. *Pryn* ſent to ſeaze Canterburies Chamber and Study, found the Original Scotch Service book with his own hand-writing, the cauſe of all the *Scots* wars. *Landon* to have been betrayed under a pretence of peace, by Mr. *Waller*, a Member of Parl. Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challenor*, but *Waller* fined 10000 *l.* and perpetuall baniſhment, *Tomkins* and *Challenor* hanged, the one at the *Exchange*, and the other in *Holborn*. Sir *Io: Hotham* attempted the betraying of *Hull* unto the Queen. *Decemb.* An Order to demoliſh Altars, to remove the Communion Table from the Eaſt end, and to take away all Tapers, Candleſticks, and Baſons, and to demoliſh all Crucifixes, Croſſes, and all Pictures and Images of the Trinity and Virgin *Mary*, both within and without all Churches and Chappels. A plot for betraying of *Lincoln* by the two *Purfries*, but preſerved. *Glouceſter* admirably freed by the City Regiments. A Rebellion by the *Kentiſh* Malignants about *Tunbridge*. A ſhip bound from *Denmark* to the *K.* of about 300 Tun richly laden with arms and ammunition; another ſhip bound from *Newcaſtle* to *Holland*, laden with Sea coals, but in the midſt thereof

was

was found between 3 or 4000 *l.* hid in the Coals, ſent to buy Arms for the *K.* a third ſhip of 400 tun, carrying 24 peece of Ordnance, taking by the Parl. *Scotland* with an Army of at leaſt 2000 Horſe and Foot, invited by the Parl. when they marched up to the middle in ſnow, and brought their Artillery over the Ice of the frozen River of *Tyne*, and the Citizens of *London* lent the parl. 100000. *l.* for the *Scots* firſt pay, to encourage their advance to help us againſt the *K.* forces. The Queen pawning the Jewels of the Crown in *Holland*, and therewith buying Arms to aſſiſt the war againſt the parl. and her own actuall performances with her popiſh Army in the North, was High treaſon, and tranſmitted to the Lords. Images, Crucifixes, papiſtical Books in *Somerſet*, and *Iameſes* were burnt, and five Capuchin Fryers ſent away. *May*, an Ordinance for the making of Forts, Trenches, about the City. *July*, the aſſembly of Divines met, Dr. *Twiſſe* prolocutor, 120 the total,

The Biſhop of Canterburies *firſt Prayer on the Scaffold*, Jan. 10. 1044.

O Eternal God, and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fullneſſe of all thy mercies look upon me, but not till thou haſt nailed my ſins to the Croſſe of Chriſt: look upon me, but not till thou haſt bathed me in the blood of Chriſt, not till I have hid my ſelf in the wounds of Chriſt, that ſo the puniſhment that is due to my ſins may paſſe away, and goe over me; and ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the uttermoſt, I humbly beſeech thee, give me now in this great inſtant, full patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to dye for thine honour, and the *K.* happineſſe, and this Churches preſervation; and my zeale to theſe, far from arrogancy be it ſpoken, is all the ſin, humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto, which is yet known of me in this particular, for which I now come to ſuffer. I ſay in this perticular of treaſon, but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great, Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially whatſoever they be, which have drawn this preſent judgment upon me, and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, then doe with me as ſeems beſt in thine owne eyes, and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what vilage ſoever it ſhall appear to me; and that there may be a ſtop of this iſſue of blood in this more then miſerable *K*ingdome; I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my ſelf: O Lord, I beſeech thee give grace of repentance to all people that have a thirſt for blood, but if they will not repent, then ſcatter their devices ſo, and ſuch as are or ſhall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the *K.* and his poſterity after him, in their juſt rights and priviledges, the honour and conſervation of parl. in their ancient and juſt power, the preſervation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the

the settlement of this distracted and distressed people, under the ancient Lawes, and in their native liberties; and when thou hast done all this in mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulnes, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their dayes: So Amen, Lord Jesus, and I beseech thee to receive my soul to mercy. Our Father, *&c.*

His last Prayer on the Scaffold.

LOrd I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see thee, but it is but *umbra mortis*, a meer shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature, but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death, so, Lord receive my soul and have mercy on me, and blesse this Kingdome with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood among them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.

And when he said, Lord receive my soul, which was his signe, the Executioner did his Office.

A design to starve the City, by breaking into *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, but disappointed by Sir *Wil: Waller*, and the City Regiments. *Feb:* the King granted a cessition of arms with the bloody Rebels of *Ireland*. *March*, a Solemn League and Covenant taken by the Lords & Commons, City of *London*, and all parts within the Parl. power. *Nottingham* Town and Castle to have been betrayed, but prevented by Col. *Hutchinson*. A ship from *Denmark* of 300 Tuns laden for the most part with Round-heads, being half pike-staves, with a knob at the end, full of iron spikes, sent to the King, but that yeare the

Swedes fell into *Denmarke*, and took half his Countrey from him A plot againſt the City of *London* by Sir *Baſil Brooke*, Col. *Read*, Mr. *Ripley*, and Mr. *Vilet*, two Citizens of *London*, and others, but prevented. Our Army in *Cornwall* preſerved with the loſſe of our Artillery. A peace pretended at *Uxbridge*, and a petition from *Buckinghamſhire*, wherein Sir *John Lawrence* was a great ſtickler, but fruſtrated. *Melcomb Regis* to have been betrayed, Col. *Goring* and Sir *Lewis Dives* were agents therein, the Town and Forts recovered, and two ſhips with rich prizes from *Rhoan* in *France* were ſeized on to make amends for their trouble. The Service-Book Voted down. Earles and Lords from *Oxford*, ſubmitted themſelves to the Parl. *June*, 1645. The famous Victory of *Naisby* over the Kings Forces, 5000 priſoners taken, a Jewel of 500. *l.* ſent to Gen. *Leven* by the Parl. all the K. Commiſſioners taken at *Shafisbury*. *Baſing* houſe taken and burnt. *Auguſt*, A plot in the weſt againſt the Parl. by the Clubmen. A ſudden plot upon *Scotland* by *Montroſſe*, but as ſuddenly recovered again by Gen: *David Leſley*. A Treaty with the Parl. for a well grounded peace, and yet at that time the Earl of *Glamorgan* had a Commiſſion to the ruine of all the proteſtants in *Ireland*, and conſequently in *England* alſo. The Great Seal broken before the Lords and Commons, on *Tueſday*, the 11 of *Auguſt*, 1646.

Ordered, That whoſoever conceals the Kings perſon, ſhalbe a Traytor.

A Letter concerning the Kings coming to the Scots Army, May 5. 1646.

RIght Honourable, the diſcharging our ſelves of the duty we owe to the Kingdom of *Engld* to you as Commiſſioners from the ſame, moves

moves us to acquaint you with the Kings coming in to our Army this morning, which having overtaken us unexpectedly, hath filled us with amazement, and made us like men that dream; we cannot think that he could have been so unadvised in his resolutions, as to have cast himself upon us, without a real intention to give satisfaction to both Kingdoms, in all their just and reasonable demands, in all those things that concern Religion and righteousnesse; whatsoever be his dispositions or resolutions, you may be assured, that we shall never entertain any thought, or correspondency with any purpose, or countenance any indeavours that may in any circumstance incroach upon our League and Covenant, or weaken the union or confidence betwixt the Nations, that union to our Kingdom was the matter of many prayers, and as nothing was more joyfull unto us then to have it set on foot, so hitherto have we thought nothing too dear to maintain it, and we trust to walk with such faithfulnesse and truth in this particular, that as we have the testimony of a good conscience within our selves, so you, and all the world shall see, that we mind your interest with as much integrity and care as our own, being confident you will entertain no other thought of us.

Signed, *May* 5. 1646. *LOTHIAN.*

A Remonstrance exhibited in the name of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councel of the City of *London*, to the High Court of Parl. 1 That some strict and speedy course may be taken for the suppressing of all private and separate Congregations. 2 That all *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, and all such Sectaries as conform not to the publick discipline established, or to be established by the Parl. may fully be declared against, and some effectuall course setled for proceeding against such persons. 3 That as we are all Subjects of one Kingdome, so all may be equally required to yield obedience to the Government either set or to be set forth. 4 That no person disaffected to the *Presbyterian* Government set or to be set forth by the Parl. may be imployed in any place of publick trust.

The King gave speedy Order to severall Officers for the surrender of the Towns, Castles, and Forts, which then were in the hands of the Kings Commanders, viz. *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Litchfield*, and *Wallingford*.

A Petition delivered to his Excellency from the Officers and Souldiers in the Army, touching their faithfullnesse in the Parl. service, doing Summer Service in the Winter season, *&c.* Further presented severall desires of theirs. 1 That an Ordinance of indempnity with the Royal assent be desired. 2 That satisfaction may be given to the petitioners for their arrears, both in their former service, and in this Army before it is disbanded. 3 That those who have voluntarily served the Parl. may not be prest to serve in another Kingdome, *&c.*

4 That thoſe who have loſt their lives, limbs, or eſtates, may be provided for, and relieved.

The Apology in anſwer to his Excellencies Letter, relating their ſenſe of a ſecond ſtorm hanging over their heads, by the malice of a ſecret enemy, worſe then the former now vanquiſhed, expreſſing their ſorrow that they cannot deſire their own ſecurity without hazzard to his Excellency, &c.

Concerning the abuſe to divers well affected to the Army, by impriſonment, to the ruine of their eſtates, and loſſe of their lives. And for their candid intentions and endeavours, declared no leſſe then troublers and enemies to the ſtate and Kingdome, reſolving rather to dye like men, then to be enſlaved and hanged like dogs, &c.

A Letter from his Excellency to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, concerning the Votes of both Houſes, as alſo his grief of heart for the diſtractions between the Parliam: and the Army, deſiring that all things may be determined in love, &c.

June, 1647. The King taken from *Holmby* and carried along with the Army, the Houſe ordered that the King ſhould reſide at *Richmond*, but the next day from the General and Councel of Officers, was brought an Impeachment againſt eleven Members.

A particular Charge againſt the 11 *Members impeached by the Army.*

1 THat Mr. *Denzil Hollis* being one of the ſpecial Commiſſion: for the Parl. to preſent Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford*, made private addreſſes to the Kings party then in Arms againſt the Parl. and did ſecretly plot and adviſe them againſt the Parl. &c. 2 That the ſaid Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Phillip Stapleton*, during the late war, when the Earl of *Lindſey* went from the Tower to *Oxford*, ſent ſeverall Meſſages to the Earl of *Dorſet*, &c. 3 That the ſaid Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Phillip Stapleton*, Sir *Will. Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Wil: Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Maj. Gen. *Maſſie*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Long*, Col *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nicholas*, in the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June* laſt, in proſecution of their evill deſignes, met in divers places with perſons diſaffected to the State, for holding correſpondency with the Queen of *England* now in *France*, and incouraged her party there. 4 And indeavoured to bring in Forraign Forces, and Liſted divers Commanders and Souldiers there, to raiſe and levy a new War. 5 and affronted divers Petitioners that came in a peaceable manner, boyſterouſly aſſaulting them, &c. 6 Impriſoned ſome Members of the Army, to diſ-oblige them from the Parl. The ſolemn Engagement of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, &c. This was the Treaſonable Ingagement.

WE *do ſolemnly Engage our ſelves, and Vow unto Almighty God, That we will to the utmoſt of our power, cordially endeavour that his Majeſty may ſpeedily come to his Houſes of Parliament, with honour, ſafety, and freedome,*

freedome, and that without the nearer approach of the Army, there to confirm such things as he hath granted the twelfth of May *last, in answer to the Propositions of both Kingdomes, and that with a personall Treaty with his two Houses of Parl. and the Commissioners of* Scotland, *such things as are yet in difference may be speedily setled, and a firme and lasting peace established.*

The Army marching towards the City, Orders were given to the trained Bands to go to the Workes. The *Auxiliaries* are raised to defend the City. A Proclamation by beat of drum for all that are able to beare Armes, and are not listed to come to receive them. The House of Commons, and the Lords likewise, met according to the order of adjournment, *July* 30. but nether of the Speakers.

At length they proceeded to a new election, and Voted Master *Pelham* a Counsellour, and Member of the Commons House, Speaker *pro tempore*.

The Lords made choice of the Lord *Grey* to be Speaker of their House *pro tempore*. The Sargeant at Arms being absent with the Mace when the Commons chose their Speaker, had the City Mace, and chose Master *Norfolk* Sergeant at Arms. After which, proceeding to debate the greate affairs touching the City and Kingdom, they voted as followes.

1 That the King come to London. 2 That the *Militia* of the City shall have full power to raise what Forces they shall think fit to the same. 3 That they may make choyce of a Commander in chief to be approved of by the House, and such Commander to present other Officers to be approved of by the *Militia*. The Common councel made choice of Major Gen. *Massey* to Command in chief all the City Forces. Ordered by the *Militia* that all Reformadoes and other Officers should the next day at two of the clock be listed in St. *Iames's* fields, where was a great appearance. Order given for slaying of Horses in the City, and many listed. Most of the eleven Members sat in the House, and in the afternoon Maj. Gen. *Massey*, Sir *William Waller*, and Col. Gen. *Poyntz*, were at listing the Reformadoes. Declaration of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Councel. A brief of which that his Majesty was surprized at *Holmby*, and no place for his Majesties residence allowed by the Army nearer then their Quarters, therefore to settle peace, and establish true Religion, ease the Kingdomes burdens, establish his Majesties just rights, maintain the Parl. priviledges, and relieving *Ireland*, they professe the main of their enterprise, *&c.*

At which time Col. Gen. *Poyntz* and other Officers of the new List, attending for their Orders upon the *Militia*, came into *Guild*-hall-yard, and most cruelly hackt and hew'd many of the aforesaid Petitioners, divers whereof were mortally wounded, whereof some

since

ſince dyed. Lord *Say*, Lord *Magreſie*, and others, with many of the Houſe of Commons, came to the Head quarters, deſiring the Generals protection. Six Aldermen and twelve Common-councel men ſent with a letter to the Gen: declaring their unwillingneſſe to a new War. A letter from *Southwarke* relating their withſtanding the deſign of raiſing a new War, deſiring protection. *Maſſey* ſends Scouts, but neer *Brainford* thirty chaſed by ten, and took four of *Maſſies*.

Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Pride*, and Col *Thiſtlwet*; marched into *Southwarke*, the Fort yielded without oppoſition. The Members forced away returne, the Houſes being ſat with their old Speakers, *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* made High Conſtable of the Tower. He marches through the City from 11 untill 8 at night.

A Letter from Liev: Gen: *Cromwel*, that his Majeſty had withdrawn himſelfe at 9 the laſt night.

His Majeſties laſt Letter, Hampton-Court; *Nov.* 11. 1645.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but eſpecially now is the condition, the aime and deſire of all men, common reaſon ſhews that Kings leſſe then any ſhould endure captivity, yet I call God to witnes with what patience I have endur'd a tedious reſtraint, which ſo long as I had any hopes that this ſort of my ſuffering might conduce to the peace of theſe three Kingdomes, or the hindring of more effuſion of blood, I did willingly undergo, but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my perſonall ruine, but likewiſe be of much more prejudice to the furtherance of the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by naturall as politicall Obligations, to ſeek my ſafety, by retiring my ſelfe for ſome time from publick view both of my friends and enemies; and I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not cauſe to free my ſelfe from the hands of thoſe who change their principles with their condition, and who are not aſhamed openly to intend the deſtruction of the Nobility, by taking away their Negative voyce, and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced then puniſhed; and as for their intentions to my perſon, their changing and putting more ſtrict Guards upon me, with the diſcharging moſt of all the ſervants of mine, who formerly they admitted to wait upon me, do ſufficiently declare: nor would I have this my retirement miſ-interpreted, for I ſhall earneſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſetling of a ſafe & well grounded peace, whereever I am or ſhall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effuſion of more Chriſtian blood, for which how many times have I preſt to be heard, and yet no ear given to me; and can any reaſonable man think (according to the ordinary courſe of affairs) there can be a ſetled peace without it, or that God will bleſs thoſe that refuſe to hear their own King? ſurely no, I muſt further add that (beſides what concerns

my

my ſelf) unleſſe all other chief intereſts have not only a hearing, but likewiſe juſt ſatisfaction given to them (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, thoſe who have adhered to me, and even the *Scots*) I ſay there cannot (I ſpeak not of miracles, it being in my opinion a ſinful preſumption in ſuch caſes to expect or truſt to them) be a ſafe and laſting peace: now as I cannot deny but that my perſonal ſecurity is the urgent cauſe of this my retirement, ſo I take God to witneſſe, the publick peace is no leſſe before mine eyes, and I can find no better way to expreſſe this my profeſſion (I know not what a wiſer man may do) then by deſiring and urging that al chief intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction; as for example, the Army (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to conſent) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the liberty of their conſcience, and have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which ſhould extend to the reſt of all my ſubjects) and that all their arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawfull and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe: To conclude, let me be heard with freedome, honour, and ſafety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this cloud of Retirement, and ſhall ſhew my ſelf to be *Pater Patriæ*,

C. R.

A great tumult, inſurrection, and mutiny in *London*, breaking open divers Houſes, and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition, ſeizing on the Chains, Gates, Chains, and Watches of the City, aſſaulted & ſhot into the Lord Mayors Houſe, and killed one of his Guard, *&c.*

May 16. 1648. *Surrey* Petitioners came to *Weſtminſter*, and made a great ſhout, and cryed, *Hey for King Charls, we will pull the Members out by the Ears*, diſarmed two Sentinels, knockt them down, one Sentinell refuſing to be diſarmed, the Petitioners got within his Arms, one of them drew his ſword and run him through, and the Petitioners drew their ſwords, and ſaid, *Fall on for King Charls now or never*; but a party of 500 Foot did take ſome: Of the Petitioners were ſlain four or five, of the Souldiers two.

The old Lord *Goring* proclaimed Generall at the head of the Kentiſh Army, upon the Hill neer *Alnford*, conſiſting of 8000 beſides thoſe in *Maidſtone*, there were near 300 ſlain, and about 2300 priſoners, many of them taken in the Woods, Hop-yards, and fields, alſo Gentlemen of good quality. There were about 500 Horſe, 3000 Arms, 9 Foot colours, and 8 pieces of Canon, with ſtore of Ammunition taken; their Word at the Engagement was *King and Kent*, ours *Truth*. They being routed marched over *Rocheſter* Bridge, towards Black-Heath, with about 3000 Horſe and Foot, moſt Cavaleers, Prentiſes and Watermen, and fled over the water into *Eſſex*, by *Woollidge* and *Greenwich*.

The

The Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Francis*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Andrew*, Lord *Cambden*, and others, roſe in *Surrey*, and made Proclamation that they expected the Parl. would ſettle the Kingdome, but becauſe they have not, they would fetch the King, and live and dye with him to ſettle it.

July 11. 1648. *Pembroke* Caſtle ſurrendred.

Scots Army of 21000. Invaded England Duke Hambletons Standard had motto Date Cæſari, Foot Standard Covenant Religion, King and Kingdomes; Riſeing in Kent, Revolting of the Navie, Reduſing Colcheſter, And Quelling the inſurection in Pembroke ſhire all in 1648:

The *Scots* entring the Kingdome, *July* 11. 1648. Maj. Gen. *Lambert* ſent this Letter to Duke *Hamilton*.

MY LORD,

HAving received Information that ſome Forces of Horſe and Foot are marched out of Scotland *into this Kingdome under your Excellencies Command, I have ſent this Bearer unto you, deſiring to know the truth and intent thereof, and whether they are come in oppoſition to the Forces in theſe parts raiſed by the Authority of the Parl. of* England, *and now in proſecution of their Commands. I deſire your Lordſhips ſpeedy anſwer, and reſt*

Your Excellencies humble Servant.

J. LAMBERT.

Duke *Hamilton's* Anſwer.

Noble Sir,

I Received yours of the 11 of this inſtant, in anſwer whereunto I ſhall only ſay, the information you received is true, for according to the Commands of the Committee of Eſtates of the Parl. of *Scotland*, there are Forces both of Horſe and Foot come into this Kingdome

dome, under my conduct, for profecution of the ends mentioned in my Letter of the 6th, to which I refer you, intending to oppoſe any that are or ſhall be in Arms for the obſtructing of thoſe pious, loyall, and juſt ends, and ſo remain,

HAMBLETON.

The Towne of *Colcheſter* delivered up, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle* ſhot to death.

Liev: Col: *Lilburn* revolted at *Newcaſtle*, declared for the King, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* ſtorm'd the Caſtle, *Lilburns* head was ſet upon a pole.

June 5. 1648. The Lord of *Warwick* went to *Portſmouth*, to bring into obedience the mutinous Sea-men; there was with the Lord of *Warwick*, the *Phœnix*, *Mary*, *Roſe*, *Robert*, *Noneſuch*, *Lilly*, *Lyon*, *Bonadventure*, *Antilope*, *Swift ſure*, *Hector*, and *Fellowſhip*.

A ſhort Abridgment of the Engagement made by the Common Councell, Commanders, Souldiers, and Commiſſion Officers in London.

WE declare to engage as much as in us lies, to defend the King and Parl: from all violence, and to the end we may be inabled to perform the ſame, We humbly offer, that the Forces in the line may be one Militia, and no Forces may be raiſed, but by Authority of the ſaid Militia, by conſent of the Common Councell. We deſire no Forces in Arms might come within thirty miles of London, *during the Treaty, and for thoſe within, what perſons ſoever ſhall make any tumult, ſhall be put to death. Ordered, That the Common Councell men and Commanders ſhall within their ſeverall Precincts goe from houſe to houſe, to receive concurrence to the ſaid Engagement.*

Decemb. 1648, The Houſe having notice of the Kings carrying to *Hurſt* Caſtle, Voted, That the ſeizing his perſon was without their advice or conſent.

Dec. 5. The Houſe Voted, That his Majeſties conceſſions to their Propoſals, was ground ſufficient to ſettle the peace of the Kingdome.

Dec. 6. Col. *Rich*, and Col. *Prides* Regiment guarded the Parl. and ſeized ſome Members.

Dec. 12. Maj. Gen. *Brown* Sheriff of *London*, was apprehended.

Dec. 13. The Houſe Voted, That the Lords and Commons declare they will make no further Addreſſes to the King, nor none ſhall be by any perſon whatſoever, without leave of the Parl. and if any make breach of this Order, they ſhal incur the penalty of high Treaſon, and that they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King, to both or either Houſes of Parl.

An Ordinance ſent to the Lords for the Tryall of the King, but

they rejected the Commiſſion, and adjourned eight dayes, after that they never ſate more.

Serjeant *Dendy*, Serjeant at Arms to the Commiſſioners, rode into *Weſtminſter*-Hall, with the Mace belonging to the Houſe of Commons on his ſhoulder, and ſome Officers attending him all bare, and ſix Trumpeters on Horſback, a guard of Horſe and Foot attending in the Pallace yard and Proclamation was made, *All that had any thing for matter of Fact againſt* Charls Stuart, *King of* England, *to bring it in to the Commiſſioners.*

Jan: 19. 1648. That this preſent Seale of *England* ſhould be broken in pieces, and a new one forthwith made, and ordered that the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* ſhould be ingraven on the one ſide, and on the other ſide a Map of the Parl. with theſe words in it, *The firſt yeer of Freedome by Gods bleſſing reſtored*, 1648.

The Charge of the Commons of England, *againſt* Charls Stuart *King of* England.

THat the ſaid *Charls Stuart* being admitted King of *England*, and therein truſted with a limited power, to Govern by and according to the Lawes of the Land, and not otherwiſe; and by his truth, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheleſſe out of a wicked deſign to erect and uphold in himſelfe an unlimited and tyrannicall power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the people; yea, to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redreſſe and remedy of miſ government, wch by the fundamentall Conſtitutions of this Kingdome, were reſerved on the peoples behalfe, in the right and power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parl. or Nationall meetings in Councels; He, the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, for the accompliſhment of ſuch his deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelfe and his adherents, in his and their wicked practices to the ſame ends, hath trayterouſly and maliciouſly levyed War againſt the preſent Parl. and the people therein repreſented. Particularly, upon or about the 30 of *June*, in the year 1642. at *Beverley* in the County of *Yorke*, and about the 30 of *July* in the yeer aforeſaid, in the County of the City of *York*; and upon the 22 of *Auguſt*, at *Nottingham*, where he ſet up his Standard of War; and alſo about the 23 of *Octobet*, in the ſame year at *Edge-hill*, and *Keintonfield*, in the County of *Warwick*; and neer the 30 of *Nov.* in the ſame yeer, at *Brainford* in the County of *Middleſex*; and neer the 30 of *Aug.* 1643 at *Caveſham* Bridge neer *Redding*, in the County of *Berks*; and neer the

the 30 of *Octob.* in the ſame yeer, neer the City of *Glouceſter*; and about the 30 of *Nov.* the ſame yeer, at *Newbury* in the County of *Ber.* and about *July* 31. 1644. at *Cropredy* Bridge in the County of *Oxon.* and *Sept.* 30. the ſame yeer, at *Bodmin*, and other places in the County of *Cornwall*; and *Nov.* 30. the ſame yeer, at *Newbery*; and about *June* 8. 1645. at *Leiceſter*; and the 14. at *Naſeby* field. At which ſeverall times and places, or moſt of them, and at many other places in this land, at ſeverall other times within the years afore-mentioned. And in the year 1646. he the ſaid *Charls Stuart* hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of the free people of the Nation to be ſlain, and by diverſions, parties, and inſurrections within this land, by invaſions from forreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evill wayes and means, he the ſaid *Charls Stuart* hath not only maintained and carried on the ſaid War, both by Land and Sea, during the yeers before mentioned, but alſo hath renewed, or cauſed to be renewed the ſaid War againſt the Parl. and good people of this Nation, in this preſent yeer, 1648. in the Counties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and many other Counties and places in *England* and *Wales*, and alſo by Sea; and particularly, he the ſaid *Charls Stuart* hath for that purpoſe given Commiſſion to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, beſides multitudes of other perſons, many ſuch as were by the Parl. intruſted and imployed for the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted to the betraying of their truſt, and revolting from the Parl. have had entertainment and Commiſſion for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid Parl. and people as aforeſaid. By which cruell and unnaturall Wars by him the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, continued and renewed as aforeſaid, much innocent blood of the free people of this Nation, hath been ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed and miſerably decayed, vaſt expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoiled, ſome of them even to deſolation.

And for farther proſecution of his ſaid evill Deſignes, he, the ſaid *Charls Stuart* doth ſtill continue his Commiſſion to the ſaid Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both Engliſh and Forreigners, and to the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the *Iriſh* Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him, from whom further invaſions are threatned, upon the procurement, and on the behalfe of the ſaid *Charls Stuart*.

All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, and evill practices of him the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the perſonall intereſt of will and power, and pretended prerogative to himſelfe and his Family, againſt the publick intereſt, common right, liberty, juſtice, and peace of the people of this Nation, by and for whom he was entruſted as aforeſaid.

By all which it appeareth that he the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, hath been and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid unnaturall, cruell and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Deſolations, Damage, and miſchiefe to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.

And the ſaid *John Cooke*, by Proteſtation (ſave on the behalf of the people of *England*, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, and alſo of replying to the anſwers which the ſaid *Charls Stuart* ſhall make to the premiſſes, or any Charge that ſhall be ſo exhibited) doth, for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes on the behalfe of the ſaid people of *Engl:* impeach the ſaid *Charls Stuart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick and implacable enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*, and pray, That the ſaid *Charls Stuart* King of *England*, may be put to anſwer all and every the premiſſes, that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgement, may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

The Kings Speech made upon the Scaffold at White-Hall, Jan. 30. 1648.

I Shall be very little heard of any body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here; indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſom men think that I did ſubmit to the guilt as well as to the puniſhment; but I think it is my duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my innocency, in troth, I think it not very needfull for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the world knowes I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſſe, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I never did intend for to incroach upon their priviledges, they began upon me, it was the Militia they began upon, they confeſt that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me; and to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, both theirs and mine and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee cleerly that they began theſe unhappy troubles, not I, ſo that as for the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it, I will not, I am in charity; God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parl. there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; for I doe beleeve that ill inſtruments between them and me, ha's been the cauſe of all this blood-

ſhed;

ſhed; ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that Gods judgements are juſt, upon me, many times he does pay juſtice by an unjuſt ſentence, that is ordinary; I will onely ſay this. *That an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me*; that is, ſo far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there is a good man (*pointing to Dr Juckson*) that will bear me witneſſe that I have forgiven all the world, and thoſe in particular that have been the chief cauſers of my death, who they are God knowes, I doe not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity muſt goe further, I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular, I pray God with Saint *Stephen*, that this be not laid to their charge; nay, not onely ſo, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdome: So (Sirs) I doe wiſh with all my ſoule, and I doe hope (there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the peace of the Kingdome.

Now (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way; firſt, you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt, certainly this is in an ill way, for Conqueſt (Sir) in my opinion is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of wrong, or juſt Title, and then if you goe beyond it, that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at firſt: But if it be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, *That He was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber*; and ſo, Sirs, I doe think the way you are in, is much out of the way. Now Sir, for to put you in the way, believe it, you will never doe right, nor God will never proſper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due, (that is, my Succeſſors) and the people their due, I am as much for them as any of you: You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of order, for to ſet you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, a Nationall Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this; when that every Opinion is freely and cleerly heard.

For the King indeed I will not, the Lawes of the Land will cleerly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concernes my owne particular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the people, and truly I deſire their liberty and freedome as much as any body whomſoever; but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty

berty and their Freedome consists in having of Government; those Lawes, by which their life and their goods may be most their owne. It is not for having share in Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them, a Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things, and therefore until they doe that, I mean, that you doe put the people in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Lawes changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) *That I am the Martyr of the people.*

In troth Sirs, I shall not trouble you much longer; for I will onely say this to you, that in truth, I could have desired some little time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested then I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered my conscience, I pray God, that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom, and your own Salvation.

The Bishop of London *minding him to say something concerning his Religion.*

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almost forgotten it. In troth Sirs, my Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the world, and therefore I declare before you all, *That I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man I think will witnesse it.*

Then turning to the Officers, said, *Sirs, excuse me for this same, I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more. Then turning to Col.* Hacker, *he said, Take care that they doe not put me to paine, and Sir, this and it please you. But then a Gentleman coming neer the Ax, the King said, take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. Then the King speaking to the Executioner, said, I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands--- Then the King called to Dr Juxon for his night cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, does my haire trouble you, who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop, then the King turning to Dr* Juxon, *said, I have a good Cause, and a gracious God on my side.*

Dr Juxon, *There is but one stage more, this stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one, but you may consider it will soone carry you a very great way, from Earth to Heaven, and there you shall find a great deale of cordiall joy and comfort.*

King.

King. *I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be*

Doct. *You are exchanged from a temporall to an eternall Crown, a good exchange.*

Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. Juckson, saying Remember, 'tis thought for the Prince, and some other small Ceremonies past, after which, the King stooping down, laid his neck upon the blocke, after a very little pause, stretched forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his Body, his Body was put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and removed to his Lodging Chamber at White-Hall.

An Act prohibiting the Proclaiming of any person to be King of *England*, &c.

WHereas Charls Stuart *King of* England, *being for the notorious Treasons, Tyrannies, and Murthers, committed by him in the late unnaturall and civill Wars condemned to death, whereupon, after execution of the same, severall pretences may be made, and Title set on foote unto the Kingly Office, to the apparent hazzard of the Publick Peace. For the prevention thereof, Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That no person or persons whatsoever doe presume to Proclaime, Declare, Publish, or any way promote* Charls Stuart, *Son of the said* Charls, *commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other person to be King or chief Magistrate of England or of Ireland, or of any the Dominions belonging to them, or any of them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in Parliament first had, and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose, any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custome to the contrary notwithstanding. And be it further Enacted and Ordained, and it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, that whosoever shall contrary to this Act, Proclaim, Declare, Publish, or any way promote the said* Charls Stuart *the Son, or any other person to be King, or chief Magistrate of* England, *or of* Ireland, *or of any the Dominions belonging*

ing to them, or to either of them, without the ſaid conſent in Parliament, ſignified as aforeſaid, ſhall be deemed and adjudged a Traytor to the Common-wealth, and ſhall ſuffer the pains of death, and ſuch other puniſhments as belong to the Crime of High Treaſon. And all Officers, as well Civill as Military, and all other well-affected perſons, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to apprehend all ſuch Offenders, and to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to the next Juſtice of the Peace, that they be proceeded againſt accordingly.

H. Scobel, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The Speech of Duke Hamilton *Earl of* Cambridge, *on the Scaffold in the Pallace yard, the ninth of* March, 1649.

I Think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that ſee me, but my voyce truly is ſo weak, ſo low, that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſſe, that I took delight in it; yet this being the laſt time that I am to doe ſo, by a Divine providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins; I ſhall to you, Sir, *Maſter Sheriff*, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am

now

now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdome of *England*: Truly Sir, it was a Countrey that I equally loved with my owne, I made no difference, I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular mans in it; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Countrey where I was borne, whoſe Command I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame hazard there, of that condition that I now am in.

It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their Generall, cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here, now ready to dye; I ſhall not trouble you, with repeating of my Plea, what I ſaid in my owne Defence at the Court of Juſtice, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the Command that is laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the juſtneſſe of their procedure according to the Lawes of this Land. God is juſt, and howſoever I ſhall not ſay any thing as to the matter of the Sentence, but that I doe willingly ſubmit to his Divine providence, and acknowledge that very many wayes I deſerve even a worldly puniſhment, as well as hereafter, for we are all ſinfull, Sir, and I a great one; yet for my comfort, I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding mercifull, I know my Redeemer ſits at his right hand, and am confident (clapping his hand on his breſt) is mediating for me at this inſtant, I am hopefull thro his free grace, and all-ſufficient merits, to be pardoned of my ſins, and to be received into his mercy, upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the free grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt: I have not been tainted in my Religion I thank God for it, ſince my infancy, it hath been ſuch as hath been profeſt in the Land, and eſtabliſhed, and now it is not this Religion or that Religion, nor this or that fancy of men that is to be built upon, it is but one that's right, one that's ſure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly ſomewhat that (*he then obſerving the Writers*) had I thought my Speech would have been thus taken, I would have digeſted it into ſome better method then now I can, and ſhall deſire theſe Gentlemen that doe write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this manner be publiſhed to my diſadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when I came here.

There are, Sirs, terrible aſperſions that have been laid upon my ſelf, truly ſuch, as I thank God, I am very free from; as if my actions & intentions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for, but that notwithſtanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing leſſe intended then to ſerve him in it. I was bred with him for many years; I was his domeſtick ſervant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parl. that was not really intended by me; and truly, in it I ventured my life one way, and now I loſe it another way:

and that was one of the ends, as to the King; I ſpeak only of that, becauſe the reſt ha's many particulars; and to clear my ſelf from ſo horrid an aſperſion as is laid upon me: neither was there any other deſigne known to me by the incoming of that Army, then what is really in the Declaration publiſhed. His perſon, I doe profeſſe, I had reaſon to love as he was my King, and as he had been my Maſter: It hath pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this, or any end in me for the ſaying of it, but to free my ſelf from that Calumny which lay upon me: I cannot gain by it, yet Truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdome, it's mentioned in that Declaration, and truly to that I did and doe remit my ſelf: and I have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe inviters; 'tis no time to diſſemble, how willing I was to have ſerved this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious, and religious men, and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my life, in whoſe whoſe hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am become unuſefull in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt (Sir) ſo I ſay now concerning that point, I wiſh the Kingdome happineſſe, I wiſh it peace, and truly Sir, I wiſh that this blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn: and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancy with my ſelf, as to the matter of my ſuffering, for my Fact, yet I freely forgive all, Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my Grave, his will be done that ha's created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miſerable ſinfull Creature now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak, Sir, to you of State-buſineſſe, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing: My owne inclination hath been to peace, from the beginning, and it is known to many, that I never was an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted to the prejudice of the Parl. I bore no Arms, I medled not with it, I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happineſſe of the King; and truly I ſhall pray ſtill, that God may ſo direct him, as that may be done wch ſhall tend to his glory, and the peace and happineſſe of the Kingdome

For my Religion, that which I ſaid was the eſtabliſhed Religion, and that which I have practiced in my own Kingdome where I was born and bred; my Tenets they need not to be expreſt, they are known to all. and I am not of a rigid opinion; many godly men there are that may have ſcruples which doe not concerne me at all at no time; they may differ in opinions, and more now then at any times differing

differing in opinion does not move me (nor any mans) my owne is clear : Sir, the Lord forgive me my ſins, and I forgive freely all thoſe that even I might as a worldly man, have the greateſt animoſity againſt ; We are bidden to forgive, Sir 'tis a Command laid upon us (and there mentioned) *Forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſſe againſt us.*

Then the Earl turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Shall I put on another Cap? Muſt this haire be turn'd up from my Neck? There are three of my Servants to give ſatisfaction ; he alſo asked him which way he would have him lye.

The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replyed, what, my head this way?

After a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his Servants, he kneeled downe by the ſide of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himſelfe.

Then with a chearfull and ſmiling countenance (embracing Dr. *Sibbalds*) he ſaid, truly Sir I doe take you in mine arms, and truly, I bleſſe God for it, I doe not fear, I have an aſſurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart) now that gives me more true joy then ever I had. I paſſe out of a miſerable world, to go into an eternall and glorious Kingdome ; and Sir, though I have been a moſt ſinfull creature, yet Gods mercy I know is infinite, and I bleſs my God for it, I goe with ſo clear a conſcience that I know not the man I have perſonally injured.

Then imbracing thoſe his Servants which were there preſent, ſaid to each of them, You have been very faithfull to me, and the Lord bleſſe you.

And ſo turning himſelfe to the Executioner, he ſaid, I ſhall ſay a very ſhort prayer unto my God, while I lye downe there, and when I ſtretch out my hand (my right hand) then Sir, doe your duty, and I doe freely forgive you, and ſo I doe all the world.

Then the Earl of *Cambridge* ſaid to the Executioner, Muſt I lye all along, he anſwered, yes, and't pleaſe your Lordſhip. Then he ſaid, when I ſtretch out my hands--- but I will fit my head, firſt tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lye, and being told he muſt lye a little lower, he ſaid,

Well, ſtay then till I give you the ſigne. And ſo having laine a ſhort ſpace devoutly praying to himſelfe, he ſtretcht out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was received by two of his Servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimſon Taffety Scarfe, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpoſe, and from thence conveyed to the Houſe that was Sir *John Hamilton's* at the Mews.

The Speech of the Earl of Holland *upon the Scaffold.*

IT is to no purpoſe (I think) to ſpeak any thing here, which way muſt I ſpeak? and then being directed to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the raile) ſaid, I think it is fit to ſay ſomething, ſince God hath called me to this place.

The firſt thing which I muſt profeſſe, is, what concerns my Religion and my breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath been ever faithfull to the true Proteſtant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which by Gods grace and mercy I ſhall dye.

I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was borne and bred: I hope God will forgive me my ſins, ſince I conceive that it is very much his pleaſure to bring me to this place for the ſins that I have committed.

The cauſe that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much miſtaken, They have conceived that I have had ill deſigns to the State, and to the Kingdome, truly I look upon it as a judgement, and a juſt judgement of God; not but I have offended ſo much the State and the Kingdome, and the Parliament, as that I have had an extream vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. For thoſe actions that I have done, I think it is knowne they have been ever faithfull to the publick, and very particularly to Parliament: my affections have been ever expreſt truly and cleerly to them. The diſpoſitions of affaires now have put things in another poſture then they were when I was ingaged with the Parl. I have never gone off from thoſe principles that ever I have profeſt, I have lived in them, and by Gods grace will I dye in them.

There may be alterations and changes that may carry them further then I thought reaſonable, and there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have ſaid or done, or profeſſed either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very conſtant, and very clear upon the Principles that I ever have gone upon, which was to ſerve the King, the Parl. Religion (I ſhould have ſaid in the firſt place) the Common-wealth, and to ſeeke the peace of the Kingdome.

That made me think it no improper time, being preſt out by accidents and circumſtances, to ſeek the peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, ſince there was ſomething then in agitation, but nothing agreed on for ſending Propoſitions to the King, that was the furtheſt aime that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention,

intention, none at all. And God be praiſed, although my blood comes to be ſhed here, there was I think ſcarcely a drop of blood ſhed in that action that I was ingaged in.

For the preſent affaires, as they are I cannot tell how to judge of them, and truly they are in ſuch a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them: and therefore I muſt make uſe of my prayers, rather then of my opinion, which are, that God would bleſſe this Kingdome, this Nation, this State, that he would ſettle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily Governed under; by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons, a Government that (I conceive) it hath flouriſhed much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a diſorder, and a confuſion, then the contrary.

I look upon the Poſterity of the King, and truly my conſcience directs me to it, to deſire, that if God be pleaſed that theſe people may look upon them with that affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through blood, nor through diſorder, admitted againe into that power, and to that glory that God hath in their birth intended to them. I ſhall pray with all my Soul for the happineſſe of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here ſpilt, may be even the laſt which may fall amongſt us, and truly I ſhould lay down my life with as much cheerfulneſſe as ever perſon did, if I conceived that there would no more blood follow us; for a State, or affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation for the moſt part that doth not proſper.

After the bleſſing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdome, and truly to the Parliament, I doe wiſh with all my heart, happineſſe, and a bleſſing to all thoſe that have been authors in this buſineſs, and truly that have been authors in this very work that bringeth us hither: I doe not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them; as God will forgive my ſins, ſo I deſire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and truly I muſt here, ſince it is the laſt of my prayers, pray to God that that Univerſity may goe on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nurſery to plant thoſe perſons that may be diſtributed to the Kingdome, that the Soules of the people may receive a great benefit and a great advantage by them; and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindneſſe, and their affections that I have found from them. (Looking towards Mr. *Bolton.*)

I have ſaid what Religion I have been breed in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practiced, I began with it and I muſt end with it.

I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to

my

my breeding, I have told you likewiſe that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may ſay ſo I hope without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfullneſſe to this Kingdome, and to this State.

I have endeavoured to doe thoſe actions that have become an honeſt man, and which became a good Engliſh-man, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution, and truly I finde a great reward of it, for I have found their prayers and their kindneſſe now in this diſtreſſe, and in this condition I am in, and I think it a great reward, and I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me Faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, hee will make it but a paſſage to an eternall life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I relye upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And ſo I pray God bleſſe you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you. And then turning to the ſide raile, he prayed for a good ſpace of time.

God hath given me (ſpeaking to Mr. *Bolton*) long time in this world, he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune, he hath at laſt brought me downe into a condition, where I find my ſelfe brought to an end, for a diſ-affection to this State, to this Parl. that (as I ſaid before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that Cauſe. I look upon it as a great judgement of God for my ſins. And truly Sir, ſince that the death is violent; I am the leſſe troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before: Principally my Saviour that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the King my Maſter paſſed in the ſame manner, and truly I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch, as a man may not be aſhamed not onely to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſpured with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himſelfe, and very happy towards this Kingdome. I have ſeen and known, that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in Heaven, have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence: And ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe me this way, I ſubmit my ſoule to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my concluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſſe this lowneſſe

ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not ſaid much in publick to the people concerning the particular actions that I conceive I have done by my Counſels in this Kingdome. I conceive they are well known, it were ſomthing of vanity (me thinks) to take notice of them here, I'le rather dye with them, with the comfort of them in mine own boſome; and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or bloodſhed, or prejudice to any Creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profeſſion before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in oppoſition to ſome liberties, that they conceived, then to be taken; and truly there was ſome mark upon me, as if I had ſome taint of it, even throout the whole wayes that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have ſuffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdome, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed ſo by my Conſcience, I thought it by my charity, and truly very much my breeding; God hath now brought me to the laſt inſtant of my time, all that I can ſay, and all that I can adhere unto is this, That as I am a great ſinner, ſo I have a great Saviour, that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a ſhew of ſhame in the way of this ſuffering, (truly I underſtand it not to be ſo) I underſtand it to be a glory, a glory, when I conſider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I conſider I had no end in it but what I conceive to be the ſervice of God, the King, and the Kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, ſince I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatſoever the action ſeem to be. I am going to dye, and the Lord receive my ſoul, I have no reliance but upon Chriſt for my ſelf, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthieſt of ſinners, my life hath been a vanity, and a continued ſin, and God may juſtly bring me to this end, for the ſins I have committed againſt him, and were there nothing elſe but the iniquities that I have committed in the way of my life, I look upon this as a great juſtice of God to bring me to this ſuffering, and thoſe hands that have been moſt active in it, I pray God forgive them, and that there may not be many ſuch Trophies of their Victory. I might ſay ſomthing of our Tryal, which I think hath been extraordinary, but becauſe I would not ſeem as if I made ſome complaint, I will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe I repine at their actions, or my owne fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall, I take it intirely from him, I ſubmit my ſelf to him, I ſhall deſire to roule my ſelfe into the arms of my bleſſed Saviour.

And when I come to this place (pointing to the Block) when I bowe downe my ſelfe there, I hope God will raiſe me up, and when I bid farewell, as I muſt now to hope and to Faith, that Love will abide, I know nothing to accompany the Soule out of this World but Love, and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountaine of glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in whom I believe, O Lord help my unbelief.

I ſhall make as much haſt as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my ſoule: I look upon my ſelfe intirely in him, and hope to find mercy through him, I expect it, and through that Fountaine that is opened for ſin, and for uncleanneſſe, my ſoule muſt receive it, for did I reſt in any thing elſe, I have nothing but ſin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which inſtead of being carried up into the Arms of God and Glory, I have nothing but may throw me downe into Hell.

And here is the place where I lye downe before him, from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternall Glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy: into his arms I commend my ſpirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that muſt lye upon this place, he will receive that Soule that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his Eternall mercy, through the Merits, through the Worthineſſe, through the Mediation of Chriſt that hath purchaſed it with his owne moſt precious Blood.

Chriſt Jeſus receive my Soule, my Soule hungers and thirſts after him, clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſſe: and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Sathan can make unto it, and that he will carry the ſoul in deſpight of all the calumnies, and all that the Devill and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternall mercy, there to receive the bleſſedneſſe of his preſence to all eternity.

That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my ſoul; and that Lamb of God that ſits upon the Throne to judge thoſe 24 that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleaſed to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that worſhip him, and that adore him, that only truſts upon his mercy for his compaſſion, and that as he hath purchaſed me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Indeed if Chriſt juſtifie, no body can condemn, and I truſt in God, in his juſtification, though there is confuſion here without us, and though there are wonders and ſtaring that now diſquiet us, yet I truſt that I ſhall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my ſoule.

Then the Earl of Holland *looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, ſaid, This honeſt man took me Priſoner, you little thought I ſhould have been brought to this, when I delivered my ſelf to you upon conditions; and eſpying Capt.* Watſon *on Horſe back putting off his Hat ſaid to him, God be with you Sir, God reward you Sir.*

Here

Here must now be my Anchor, a great ſtorm makes me find my Anchor, and but in ſtormes no body truſt to their Anchor, and therefore I muſt truſt upon my Anchor (Upon that God, ſaid Mr *Bolton*, upon whom your Anchor truſts) *yea, God, I hope, will Anchor my ſoule faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus: and if I dye not with that clearneſſe and heartineſſe that you ſpeak of, truly, I will truſt in God though he kill me, I will relye upon him, and the mercy of my Saviour.*

Then the Earl of Holland *imbraced Liev: Col:* Beecher, *and tooke his leave of him: After which, he came to* Mr Bolton, *and having imbraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great paines and affections to his ſoule, deſiring God to reward him, and returne his love into his boſome,* Mr Bolton *ſaid to him, The Lord God ſupport you, and be ſeen in this great extremity, the Lord reveale and diſcover himſelfe to you, and make your death the paſſage unto eternall life.*

Then the Earl turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Here my friend, let my Cloaths and my Body alone, there is ten pounds for thee, that is better then my Cloaths, I am ſure of it.

Execut. *Will your Lordſhip pleaſe to give me a ſigne when I ſhall ſtrike? And his Lordſhip ſaid, you have room enough here, have you not?* Execut. *Yes.*

Then the Earl of Holland *turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Friend, doe you hear me, if you take up my Head, doe not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he ſaid to one, Fare you well, thou art an honeſt fellow, and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honeſt man, and then ſaid, Stay, I will kneel down and aske God forgiveneſſe, and then prayed for a pretty ſpace with ſeeming earneſtneſſe. Then ſpeaking to the Executioner, he ſaid,*

Which is the way of lying? (which they ſhewed him) and then going to the Front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the people, God bleſſe you all, and God deliver you from any ſuch act as may bring you to any ſuch death as is violent, either by war or by theſe accidents, but that there may be peace among you, and you may find that theſe accidents that have hapned to us, may be the laſt that may happen in this Kingdome; it is that I deſire, it is that I beg of God, next the ſaving of my ſoule; I pray God give all happineſſe to this Kingdom, to this people, and this Nation: And then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, How muſt I lye? I know not.

Execut. *Lye down flat upon your Belly: and then having laid himſelfe down, he ſaid, Muſt I lye cloſer?* Execut. *Yes. and backwarder.*

I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike, and then as he lay ſeemed to pray with much affection for a ſhort ſpace, and then lifting up his head, ſaid, where is the man? and ſeeing the Executioner by him, he ſaid, Stay while I give the ſigne, and preſently after ſtretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, Now, now, and juſt as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his Head from his Body.

The Speech of the Lord Capel *upon the Scaffold.*

THe Concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an Addreſs to them, (which was the laſt) I told them with much ſincerity, That I would pray to the God of all mercies, that they might be partakers of his meſtimable and boundleſſe mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, and truly I ſhall pray that prayer, and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my ſoule I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian: But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, That I am a Proteſtant, and truly I am a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the thirty nine Articles, a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch a one, as truly, I never knew none ſo good: I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truly) very unwo thily at ſome time charged me withall, that truly I profeſſe to you, that though I love Good Works, and commend Good Works, yet I hold, they have nothing at all to doe in the matter of Salvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelfe for me*, that is it that I reſt upon. And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to dye: truly, contrary to the Law that Governs all the world, that is, *The Law of the Sword*, I had the protection of that for my life, and honour of it; but truly I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken very largely and liberall about it, I believe you will hear by other means what argumenrs I uſed in that caſe: But truly, that that is ſtranger. you that are Engliſh men, behold here an Engliſh man now before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to dye by any Law of *Engl.* not by any Law of *England*; nay ſhall I tell you (which is ſtrangeſt of all) contrary to all the Lawes of *Engl.* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civill part of my death, and the Cauſe I have maintained, I dye (I take it) for maintaining the fifth Commandement, enjoyned by God himſelfe, which enjoynes reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many ſeverall opinions, yet all Divines on all hands, doe acknowledge that here is intended Magiſtracy and Order, and certainly I have obeyed that Magiſtracy and the Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I doe ſay very confidently that I do dye here

here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandement given by God himſelfe, and written with his own finger.

And now Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, that I can not imitate a better nor a greater ingenuity then his, that ſaid of himſelfe, *For ſuffering an unjuſt judgement upon another, himſelfe was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt judgement.* Truly Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it, may take the occaſion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profeſſe to you, that truly I did give my Vote to that Bill of the E. of *Strafford*, I doubt not but God Almighty hath waſhed that away with a more precious blood, and that is, with the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it: Truly this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt part nor the leaſt degree of malice in the doing of it: but I muſt confeſſe again to Gods glory, and the accuſation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly it was an unworthy Cowardize, not to reſiſt ſo great a torrent as carried that buſineſſe at that time. And truly, this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatſoever it was, God I am ſure hath pardoned it, hath given me the aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his blood hath waſhed it away; and truly, I doe from my ſoule wiſh, that all men that have any ſtain by it, may ſeriouſly repent, and receive a remiſſion and pardon from God for it. And now Gentlemen, we have had an occaſion by this intimation to remember his Majeſty, our King that laſt was, and I cannot ſpeak of him, nor think of it, but truly I muſt needs ſay, that in my opinion that have had time to conſider all the Images of all the greateſt and vertuouſeſt Princes in the world, and truly in my opinion there was not a more vertuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the world, then our gracious King *Charls* that dyed laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son, God ſend him more fortunate, and longer dayes; God almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the vertues and ſufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Councellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen yeers of age) thoſe years I was with him, truly I never ſaw greater hopes of vertue in any young perſon, then in him; great Judgment, great Underſtanding, great Apprehenſion, much Honour in his Nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſh-man in his Inclination; and I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdome, and unite the Kingdomes one unto another, and ſend a happineſſe both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdome come, that is, while all Temporall Power is conſummated: I

beſeech God of his mercy, give much happineſſe to this your KING, and to you that in it ſhall be his Subjects, by the grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly, I like my beginning ſo well, that I will make my concluſion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that are the cauſers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their owne hearts can wiſh, and truly for my part I will not accuſe any of them of malice, truly I will not, nay, I will not think there was any malice in them; what other ends there are, I know not, nor I will not examine, but let it be what it will, from my very ſoule I forgive them every one: And ſo, the Lord of Heaven bleſſe you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodneſſe and mercy to you, and direct you in thoſe wayes of obedience to his Commands to his Majeſty, that this Kingdome may be a happy and glorious Nation again, & that your King may be a happy King in ſo good and ſo obedient people. God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preſerve this Kingdome. God Almighty preſerve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) ſaid, Which is the Gentleman? Which is the man? Anſwer was made, he is coming, he then ſaid, ſtay, I muſt pull off my Doublet firſt and my Waſtcoat: And then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, O friend, prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, I forgive thee from my ſoul, and not only forgive thee, but I ſhall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee, and truly for my Cloaths and thoſe things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you ſhall be very fully recompenced, but I deſire my body may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own Servants: Look you Friend, this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lye down, you would give me a time for a particular ſhort prayer.

Liev. Col. *Beecher*, Make your owne ſigne my Lord.

Capel. Stay a little, which ſide doe you ſtand upon (ſpeaking to the Executioner) ſtay I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way (pointing fore right) and anſwer being made yes, he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God Almighty bleſſe all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ſtench, ſtench, this iſſue of blood, this will not doe the buſineſſe, God Almighty find out another way to do it.

And then turning to one of his Servants, ſaid, *Baſtwin*, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my wife, but I muſt deſire thee to beſeech her to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, and be contented and fully ſatisfied: And then ſpeaking to his Servants he ſaid, God keep you:

you, and Gentlemen, let me now doe a buſineſſe quickly, privately, and pray let me have your Prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my ſoul.

Capel. Pray at the moment of ſtriking, joyne your prayers, but make no noiſe (turning to his Servants) that is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My Lord, put on your Cap.

Capel. Should I, what will that doe me good? ſtay a little, is it well as it is now? And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Honeſt man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly, from my ſoule I doe it.

Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, Nay, prethee be contented, be quiet good Mr.--- be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? And ſtretching out his hands, he ſaid, then pray ſtand off Gentlemen, then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the people, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, that you would all joyne in prayers with me, that God would mercifully receive my ſoule, and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Jeſus.

Execut. My Lord, ſhall I put up your Haire?

Capel. I, I, prethee doe; and then as he ſtood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he ſaid, O God, I doe with a perfect and a willing heart ſubmit to thy will, O God, I doe moſt willingly humble my ſelfe: then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try firſt how I can lye, and laying his head over the block, ſaid, Am I well now?

Execut. Yes.

And then as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lye both my hands out, when I lift up my hand thus, then you may ſtrike.

And then after he had ſaid a ſhort prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his Servants, and put (with his Body) into a Coffin, as the former.

March 19. 1648.

An Act for Aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers.

THe Commons of England *Aſſembled in Parl finding by too long experience that the Houſe of Lords is uſeleſſe and dangerous to the people of* England *to be continued, have thought fit to Ordain and Enact, and be it Ordained and Enacted by the preſent Parliament: and by the Authority of the ſame, That from henceforth the Houſe of Lords in Par. ſhall be, and is hereby*

by wholly aboliſhed and taken away; and that the Lords ſhall not from henceforth meet or ſit in the ſaid Houſe of Lords, nor ſhall Sit, Vote, Adviſe, Adjudge or Determine of any matter or thing whatſoever, as a Houſe of L^ds in Parl. Nevertheleſſe it is hereby Declared, That neither ſuch Lords as have demeaned themſelves with Honour, Courage, and Fidelity to the Common-wealth, their Poſteritie who ſhall continue ſo, ſhall not be excluded from the Publick Councels of the Nation, but ſhall be admitted thereunto, and have their free Vote in Parl: if they ſhall be thereunto Elected, as other perſons of intereſt Elected and Qualified thereunto ought to have: And be it further Ordained and Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That no Peer of this Land, not being Elected, Qualified, and ſitting in Parl. as aforeſaid, ſhall claim, have, or make uſe of any Privilege of Parl. either in relation to his Perſon, Quality, or Eſtate, any Law, Uſage, or Cuſtome to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Hen: Scobel, Cler: Parl.

On *Thurſday*, July 25. 1650. The General and Army Marched from *Mordington* to *Copperſmith*, Col. *Hackers* Regiment being drawn up in the way, his Excellency made a Speech to ſatisfie them concerning Capt. *Ogles* Troop being ſent back into *Northumberland*, in regard of his intereſt in that County, & that Cap. *Greenwoods* Troop appointed for *Berwick* ſhould March with the Regiment in the ſtead thereof, which gave great ſatisfaction. Col. *Bright's* Regiment being drawn up; Maj. Gen. *Lambert* appointed Collonel thereof, coming to the head of the Regiment, was received with great Acclamations.

A Liſt of the Regiments of Horſe and Foot Randezvouzed and Marched with the Lord Gen: Cromwell, *into* Scotland.

Eight Regiments of Horſe.

THe Lord Generals, in number	663
Maj. Gen. in number	663
Col. *Fleetwoods* in number	663
Col. *Whalies* in number	663
Col. *Twiſden* in number	663
Col. *Lilburn* in number	663
Col. *Hackers* in number	663
Col. *Okey* in number	744
Conſiſting with Officers, in all	5450

Ten

Ten Regiments of Foot.

THe Lord Generals, in number	1307
Col. *Pride*	1307
Col. *Bright*	1307
Col. *Malivery*	1307
Col. *Ch: Fairfax*	1307
Col. *Cocks*	1307
Col. *Dunell*	1307
Col. Sir *Arthur Haſlerigs* 5 Companies	550
Col. *Fenwicks* 5 Companies	555
Conſiſting with Officers, in all	10249
The Traine	690
The whole thus :	
The Traine	690
The Horſe	5450
The Foot	10249
The Totall	16354

A Letter from Liev: Gen: David Leſley, *to the Lord Gen:* Cromwell.

My Lord ;

I Am Commanded by the Committee of Eſtates of this Kingdome, and deſired by the Commiſſioners of the Generall Aſſembly, to ſend unto your Excellency this inclоſed Declaration, as that which containeth the State of the Quarrell ; wherein we are reſolved, by the Lords aſſiſtance, to fight your Army, when the Lord ſhall pleaſe to call us thereunto. And as you have profeſſed you will not conceal any of our Papers, I doe deſire that this Declaration may be made known to all the Officers of your Army ; And ſo I reſt,

Bruchton, 13 *Aug.* 1650. Your Excell: moſt humble Servant, *DAVID LESLEY.*

For his Excellency the Lord Generall Cromwell.

The Declaration of the Commiſſioners of the Generall Aſſembly of *Scotland*, *as followeth.*

THe Commiſſion: of the Generall Aſſembly conſidering, That there may be juſt ground of ſtumbling, from the Kings Majeſties refuſing to ſubſcribe and emit the Declaration offered unto him by the Committee of Eſtates, and Com-

missioners of the Generall Assembly, concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future, in reference to the Cause of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof: Doth therefore Declare, That this Kirk and Kingdome doe not owne nor espouse any Malignant Party, or Quarrell, or Interest, but that they fight meerly upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in defence of the Cause of God, and of the Kingdome, as they have done these twelve years past. And therefore as they doe disclaime the sin and guilt of the King and of his House; so they will not owne him, nor his interest, otherwise then with a subordination to God, and so far as he ownes and prosecutes the Cause of God, and disclaimes his, and his Fathers opposition to the work of God, and to the Coven, and likewise all the Enemies thereof. And that they will with convenient speed take into consideration the Papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwel, *and vindicate themselves from all the falshoods contained therein, especially in these things, wherein the Quarrell betwixt us and that party is misstated, as if we owned the late Kings proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintaine his present Majesties interest, before and without acknowledgement of the sins of his House and former wayes, and satisfaction to Gods people in both Kingdomes.*

West Kirk, *Aug.* 13 1650. A. Ker.

August 13. 1650.

THe Committee of Estates having seen and considered a Declaration of the Commissions of the Generall Assembly, anent the stating of the Quarrell, whereon the Army is to fight, Doe approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

Tho: Henderson.

The Lord Generalls Answer to the former, as followeth.

I Received yours of the thirteenth instant, with the Paper you mentioned therein inclosed, which I caused to be read in the presence of so many Officers as could well be gotten together, to which your Trumpet can witnesse, we returne you this Answer, by which I hope in the Lord it will appear, That we continue the same we have professt our selves to the honest people of *Scotland*, wishing to them as to our own souls, it being no part of our business to hinder any of them from worshiping God in that way they are satisfied in their Consciences by the Word of God they ought (though different from us) but shall therein be ready to perform what obligations lye upon us by the Covenant; but that under the pretence of the Covenant, mistaken and wrested from the most native intent and equity thereof, a King should be taken in by you, to be imposed upon us, and this called *The Cause of God and the Kingdome*, and this done upon the satisfacti-

ſatisfaction of Gods people in both Nations, as is alleged, together with a diſowning of Malignants, although he who is the head of them in whom all their hope of comfort lies, be received; who at this very inſtant hath a Popiſh party fighting for and under him in *Ireland*, hath Prince *Rupert* (a man who hath had his hand deep in the blood of many innocent men of *England*) now in the head of our Ships ſtoln from us upon a Malignant accompt; hath the French and Iriſh ſhips daily making depradations upon our Coaſts: ſtrong combinations by the Malignants in *England*, to raiſe Arms in our bowels, by vertue of his Commiſſions, who having of late iſſued out very many to that purpoſe, and how the intereſt you pretend you have received him upon, and the Malignant intereſt in the ends and conſequences entring in this man, can be ſecured, we cannot diſcern; and how we ſhould believe, that whilſt known and notorious Malignants, fighting and plotting againſt us on the one hand, and the declaring for him on the other, ſhould not be an eſpouſing of a Malignant party, quarrell, or intereſt, but be a meer fighting upon former Grounds and Principles, and in defence of the Cauſe of God, and of the Kingdome, as hath been theſe twelve yeers laſt paſt (as ye ſy) for the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of Gods people in both Nations, or the oppoſing of which ſhould render us enemies to the godly with you, we cannot well underſtand, eſpecially conſidering, That all theſe Malignants take their confidence and encouragement from the late Tranſactions of your Kirk and State with your King; for as we have already ſaid, ſo we tell you again, it is but ſatisfying ſecurity to thoſe that employ us, and are concerned in that we ſeek, which we conceive will not be by a few formall and feigned ſubmiſſions from a perſon who could not tell otherwiſe how to accompliſh his Malignant ends, and therefore Councel'd to this complyance, by them who aſſiſted his Father, and have hitherto acted him in his moſt evill Deſignes, and are now again by them ſet on foot; againſt wch, how you will be able, in the way you are in, to ſecure us or your ſelves, is (foraſmuch as concerns our ſelves) our duty to looke after.

If the ſtate of your quarrell be thus, upon which, as you ſay, you reſolve to fight our Army, you will have opportunity to doe that, els what means our abode here? And if our hope be not in the Lord, it will be ill with us. We commit both you and our ſelves to him, who knowes the heart and tries the Reins, with whom are all our wayes, who is able to doe for us and you, above what we know, which we deſire may be in much mercy to this poor people, and to the glory of his owne great Name.

And having performed your deſire in making your papers ſo publick as is before expreſt, I deſire you to doe the like, by letting the

State, Kirk and Army have the knowledge hereof. To which end I have ſent you incloſed two Copies, and reſt

From the Camp at *Pencland* Hills, *Aug.* 14. 1650,

Your humble Servant,
O: CROMWEL.

The Victory at *Gladſmore* in *Scotland*, July 30, 31. 1650. M G. *Montgomery* ſlaine, 200 Arms taken, 80 Troopers, 500 wounded, 4 Colours, 15 Troops routed, 500 Foot routed at *Muſcleburrough*. The Victory at *Dunbar*, Aug. 30. 1650. 4000 killed, 10000 Priſoners, 2000 Horſe, 290 Commiſſion Officers, 15000 Arms, 200 Colours, 32 pieces of Ordnance. Of ours that ingaged 5000 Horſe and Foot; their word, *The Covenant*, ours, *The Lord of Hoſts*.

Novemb. 1650. Inſurrections in *Norfolke*, for which 24 were condemned, and 10 executed. Col. *Ker* routed and taken, and the Town of *Ayre*. *Decemb.* 25. The ſtrong Caſtle of *Edenburgh* delivered up, 53 pieces of Ordnance, whereof 15 Iron, the reſt Braſſe, about 8000 Arms, with ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion.

Nov. 22. A Squadron of Ships Commanded by Gen. *Blague*, ſurpriſed a conſiderable part of the *Portugal Braſil* Fleet fraighted with Sugar, and ſent them to *England*, and after purſued the revolted ſhips beyond *Alligant*, where they took 7 of Prince *Ruperts* Fleet, and purſued him to *Thoulon* one of the furtheſt Havens of *France*, having but two ſhips left. *Jan.* 30. 1650. A day of publick Thankſgiving in *England*, *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick*.

Jan. 1, 1650. The Scots King was Crowned at *Schone*, he is General of the Army, D. *Hamilton* Lieut. Gen. of the Scotch Army, *David Leſley* M. G. *Middleton* L. G. of the Scotch Horſe, and *Maſſey* M. G. of the Engliſh.

Jan. 4. 1650. The King of *Spaine* ſent his Ambaſſador for the acknowledging of this State, whoſe Authority and Soveraignty reſides in this Parl. of the Common-wealth of *England*, and to ſtabliſh a good friendſhip with it. The *Portugal* ſent his Agent alſo to the like effect.

March 6. 1650. Sir *Henry Hide* Beheaded at the *Exchange* for receiving and acting by vertue of a Commiſſion from *Charls Stuart* the Second, and King of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, as his Agent to the Great Turk, with an intent to deſtroy the Trade of the Turky Company, and the Parl. intereſt, not onely in *Conſtantinople*, but in *Mitylene*, *Anatolia*, & *Smyrna*, in which Compiracies he was a Commiſſioner, and likewiſe to ſeize upon our Merchants Goods for the uſe of the King of *Scotland*, and procured audience of the Grand Viſier, and raiſed great feats and uproars among the Merchants.

Browne

A Speech made by K. Charles ye. 2d. at his Coronation: 1. January: 1650
I will by gods assistance bestow my life for your defence wishing to live no longer then that I may see this King: dome flourish in happiness.

The Oath, I doe promise & vow in ye presence of ye eternall god ye I will maintaine ye true Kirk of god religion right preaching & administration of ye Sacraments now received & preached within this Realme in purity; And shall abolish & gain-stand all false Religions & sects contrary to ye same. And shall rule ye people comited to my charge, according to ye will of god, and laudable laws & constitutions of ye Realme; causing justice & equity to be ministred without partiality.

Browne Bushell, Beheaded nnder the Scaffold on *Tower*-hill, Mar. 29. 1651. for delivering up *Scarborough*.

June 2. 1651. The surrender of *Scilly* Islands.

June 24. Insurrection in *Cardiganshire*, 40 slaine, 60 prisoners taken.

July 29. *Burnt* Island surrendred.

The Scotch King invaded *England* with 16000 Horſ and Foot, and a great Train of Artillery, and cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed K. of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in *Lancaſhire*.

Auguſt 22. *Charls* the Firſt erected his Standard at *Nottingham*, and *Charls* the Second erected his Standard at *Worceſter*, *Aug.* 22. 1651.

Sept. 3. Col. *Leſley*, *Crawford Linſey*, *Ogleby*, with divers of quality, beſides 500 taken that were making levies to raiſe the Siege at *Dundee*. *Sept.* 1. 1651. Sir *Johnſton* ſurrendred. *Aug.* 19. The Caſtle of *Sterling* ſurrendred, 40 pieces of Ordnance, 27 faire braſſe pieces, 2 great iron Guns, 11 Leather Guns, proviſion of Meal to ſerve 500 men about twelve months, 40 or 50 Barrels of Beef, 500 Armes, new Muskets and Pikes, 20 Barrels of powder, 20 or 30 Veſſels of Claret Wine, and Strong waters, great ſtore of Match and other Ammunition, Lances, Guns, a thouſand Flats and other inſtruments of War of that nature, all the Records of *Scotland*, the Chaire and Cloath of State, the Sword, and other rich furniture of the Kings. *Aug.* 25. The totall rout and overthrow of the Earl of *Darby* in *Lancaſhire*, by Col. *Robert Lilburne*.

A full Narrative of the late Dangerous Deſigne againſt the State; written with Maſter *Love's* owne hand, and by him ſent to the Parliam: declaring the ſeverall Meetings, and ſecret Actings, with *Major Alford*, *Major Adams*, *Colonel Barton*, *Maſter Blackmore*, *M. Caſe*, *M. Cauton*, *Dr. Drake*, *M. Drake*, *Capt. Far*, *M. Gibbons*, *M. Haviland*, *Maj. Huntington*, *M. Jenkins*, *M. Jaquel*, *M. Jackſon*, *Lieu. Jackſon Cap. Maſſey*, *M. Milton*, *Cap. Potter*, *M. Robinſon*, *M. Sterks*, *Col. Sowton*, *Col. Vaughan*, and others.

COnſidering how a clear and full Narrative may ſatisfie the State (al hough it may prejudice my ſelf) I am willing with an ingenuous freedome, and openneſſe of heart to make known the whole matter, ſo far as I diſtinctly know and well remember, humbly hoping that this large acknowledgment of mine (which is more then any in the world can prove againſt me) ſhall not be taken as an aggravation of my fault, but as a demonſtration of my ingenuity. Before I mention the matters of Fact, I humbly crave leave to ſignifie the time when, and manner how I came to be intangled in this unhappy buſineſſe.

As for the time, it was after the breaking off the Treaty between the

the King and the Scots at *Jersey*; for before that time (to the best of my remembrance) I was not privy to, or acquainted with any meetings about the sending of Captain *Titus* (whose face I never saw) to *Jersey*, or sending Letters to him, or receiving Letters from him, while he was there; or about sending any Letters to, or receiving any Letters from the King, Queen, *Jermyn*, *Piercy*, or any other persons in forreign parts during the Treaty at *Jersey*, but after that Trea-

ty was ended, Mr. *Wil: Drake* came to me, told me he had Newes to impart, and to that end, he desired to know (if he could get friends together) whether I was willing that they should meet at my house (it being conveniently scituate in the midst of the City) that so he might communicate what he heard of affairs abroad. To satisfie my curiosity to hear News, I was content to let him, with those he should bring to meet at my house. Thus for the time when, and manner how I came to be present at any meetings about Intelligence.

I now come humbly and truly to relate the matter of Fact, which is as followeth: It appeared to me by the testimony of the Witnesses, that there were frequent meetings by Mr. *Drake*, *Alford*, *Titus*, *Adams*, and others, soon after the death of the late King, and applications made to the King of Scots, the Queen his Mother, to *Jermyn*, and *Piercy*, both before and during the Treaty at *Jersey*, of which I knew nothing, nor was I present: But the first meeting I was at, was at my House (and as I remember) at the reading of a Letter which came from Captain *Titus*, after the Treaty was ended at *Jersey*; the Contents of that Letter were (if I mistake not) to this effect: That the Treaty at *Iersey* was broken off through the violent and evill Counsels of desperate Malignants; and that he had something of con-

cer n-

cerniment to communicate, which he durſt not doe in perſon, being not ſafe for him to come over into *England*, nor could he well doe it by writing, he judging it not fit or ſafe to ſend by the Common Poſt fearing a miſcarriage; whereſore hi deſired ſome body to be ſent over to him to *Calice*, to whom he might give an account of all proceedings. Upon the reading of this Letter, Mr. *Drake* moved that ſome perſon ſhould be deſired to goe to *Calice*; for ſaid he, we ſhall hear the whole relation of the buſineſſe at *Ierſey*; whereupon Major *Adams* or Capt. *Farr* were moved by Mr. *Drake* to goe. There was mention of Major *Alford* to goe, though he was not then preſent that I know of, nor was he ever within my houſe, as I remember, untill after he returned from *Calice*: ſo that there was none that I know of was gone, Mr. *Drake* told me, Major *Alford* was the fitteſt man to go over to *Calice*, having buſineſſe of his owne to goe into *France*, to look after his Prodigall Son, ſo that it was (ſaid he) a plauſible pretence to conceale his going over to meet with *Titus*. There were preſent at this firſt meeting, M. *Drake*, M. *Ienkins*, Maj. *Adams*, D. *Drake*, Cap. *Farr*, Cap. *Potter*, and my ſelfe, with ſome others, but who more I cannot remember.

About 2 or 3 dayes after Maj. *Alfords* return from *Calice*, M. *Drake* told me he was come to *London*, and told me he would goe to ſeverall Miniſters and Citizens, to deſire them to meet at my Houſe, that ſo we might hear what Newes Maj. *Alford* brought with him from *Calice*; accordingly the next day in the evening they met at my houſe, Mr. *Drake* brought Maj. *Alford* with him, who gave an account of his conference with *Titus*, and his receiving a Copy of the Kings Letter from him, as alſo a Narrative of the Treaty at *Ierſey*, and ſaid, that he brought not over the Letters himſelfe, but delivered them to a Paſſenger that came in the Ship, leaſt himſelf ſhould be ſearched; but after he came into *England* he received the Letter & Narrative from him (but who he was I know not) and ſo brought them to *London*, whether the Copy of the Kings Letter was read at my houſe, in my hearing, I remember not; yet I deny not but it was read there; I am ſure I heard the Contents of it were to this effect, That he took in good part the affections and loyalty of thoſe who formerly had Petition'd to him (of which Petition I know nothing) and if ever God reſtored him, or put him in a condition, he ſhould remember them. The Narrative read in my Houſe, was to this effect, He made a large deſcription of the *Scots*, commending his prudent carriage, & good inclinations to an agreement with the *Scots*, but that his bad Councel about him hindred it; alſo he made a rehearſall of his ſufferings from the Cavaliers at Jerſey, how he was impriſoned in a cloſe Room. There were preſent at this meeting, Maj. Alford, M. Drake, Mr. Caſe, Maj. *Adams*, Mr. Jaquel, Mr. Jackſon, Mr. Jenkins, Dr. Drake,

Drake, Capt. Potter, Mr. Sterks, Capt. Farr, and my ſelfe, with others, but who, I doe not remember.

A little before the Treaty at *Breda*, there was a meeting at my Houſe, Mr *Drake* propoſed, that wee ſhould thinke of ſome way to promote the agreement between the King and the Scots; where by the way I deſire humbly to give notice, that this was the firſt and only meeting of this nature, at my houſe. Mr *Drake* took out ſome papers out of his pocket written in Characters, which he read in my Study, which went under the name of a Commiſſion and Inſtructions to be ſent to the Lord *Willoughby*, Alderm: *Bunce*, *Maſſey*, *Graves*, and *Titus*, to appoint them to adviſe with, and uſe their intereſts in perſons of honour, to provoke the King to agree with the Scots. & take the Covenant; as alſo to adviſe with the Scots Commiſſioners, and perſwade them, That in their agreement with their King, they would have ſpeciall reſpect to the intereſt of Religion, and terms of the Covenant; the Commiſſion ran in this form, as if it were in the names of all the Presbyteriall party in *England*: after I heard it read, I was againſt it alledging ſeverall reaſons, chiefly, that it was an act of high preſumption for private perſons to ſend a Commiſſion with Inſtructions; and an act of notorious falſhood, to ſay this was in the name of all the Presbyteriall party of *England*, when but a few perſons knew thereof; many in the company alſo expreſt a diſlike thereof: Mr. *Drake* alſo read a Letter in this meeting, but to whom it was I know not, neither know I the Contents of it. I was at leaſt a dozen times called out of the Room, whiles the Company were there, ſo that I am not able to give ſo full and particular an accompt of the Contents of the Letter, and of the Commiſſion and Inſtruction: What Mr. *Drake* did about the Commiſſion and Inſtructions after he was gone from my houſe, I know not, what and by whom he ſent I know not, until *Maj.* Alford declared before the High Court, That he received the Papers from *Mr.* Drake, carried them to Graveſend, and delivered to one *Maſon*, and he caried them to Holland. There was at this meeting, *Maj.* Huntington, *M.* Drake, D Drake, *M.* Jackſon, *M* Jenkins, *M.* Cauton, *M.* Alford, *M* Gibbons, *Maj.* Adams, Cap. Farr, and my ſelfe, with others, whom I cannot remember. There is one thing more I make bold to mention, That there are other perſons beſides thoſe I have named, who did now and then come to my houſe, as *M.* Robinſon, *M.* Nalton, *M.* Haviland, *M.* Blackmore, Col. Vaughan, Col. Sowton, were preſent at one time or another, but at what particular meeting, I cannot poſitively ſay.

Thus I have cleerly laid open the whole matter of Fact, ſo far as I well remember, and diſtinctly know of paſſages about theſe meetings and Tranſactions at my Houſe.

Tower of *London*, July 22. 1651. *I atteſt the truth of this Narrative under my hand.* Chriſtopher Love.

Mr. Love's *Speech made on the Scaffold on* Tower-hill. *August* 22. 1651.

BEloved Christians, I am this day made a Spectacle unto God, Angels, and men; and among them I am made a grief to the godly, a laughing stock to the wicked, and a gazing stock to all; yet blessed be my God, not a terror to my self; although there be but a little between me and death, yet this bears up my heart, there is but a little between me and Heaven: It comforted Dr. *Taylor*, the martyr, when he was going to Execution, That there were but two stiles between him and his fathers house; there is a lesser way between me and my fathers house, but two steps between me and glory, it is but lying down upon the block, and I shall ascend upon a Throne: I am this day sailing towards the Ocean of Eternity, through a rough passage, to my Haven of rest, through a red Sea, to the promised Land: methinks I hear God say to me as he did to *Moses*, *Goe up to Mount Nebo and dye there*, so goe thou up to *Tower*-hill, and dye there. *Isaac* said of himself, *That he was old and yet he knew not the day of his death*, but I cannot say thus, I am young, and yet I know the day, the kind, and the place of my death also; it is such a kind of death as two famous Preachers of the Gospel were put to before me, *John* the Baptist, and *Paul* the Apostle, we have mention of the one in Scripture story, of the other in Ecclesiastical History: and *Rev.* 20. 4. *The Saints were beheaded for the word of God, and for the testimony of Iesus*. But herein is the disadvantage which I am in in the thoughts of many, who judge that I suffer not for the Word or Conscience, but for medling with State matters. To this I shall briefly say, That it is an old guise of the Devil, to impute the cause of Gods peoples sufferings to be contrivements against the State. The Rulers of Israel would put *Ieremiah*, to death upon a Civil account, though it was the truth of his Prophesie made them angry, because he fell away to the Chaldeans, so *Paul* must dye as a mover of sedition. The same thing is laid to my charge, whereas indeed it is because I pursue my Covenant, and will not prostitute my principles to the lusts of men. Beloved, I am this day to make a double exchange, I am changing a Pulpit for a Scaffold, and a Scaffold for a Throne; and I might add a third, I am changing this numerous multitude upon Tower-hill, for the innumerable company of angels in the holy hill of Zion; and I am changing a guard of Souldiers for a guard of angels, which will receive me and carry me into *Abrahams* bosome. This Scaffold is the best Pulpit I ever Preached in, for in the Church Pulpit God through his grace made me an instrument to bring others to heaven, but in this he will bring me to heaven; and it may be this Speech upon a Scaffold may bring God more glory then many Sermons in a Pulpit.

Before

Before I lay down my neck upon the block, I ſhall lay open my Caſe, and that without animoſity or revenge; God is my record, whom I ſerve in the ſpirit, I ſpeak the truth, and lye not, I doe not bring a revengefull heart unto the Scaffold this day; before I came here, upon my bended knees I have beg'd mercy for them that denied mercy to me, & I have prayed God to forgive them who would not forgive me: I have forgiven from my heart, the worſt enemy I have in all the world, and this is the worſt that I wiſh to my Accuſers and Proſecuters, who have purſued my blood, that I might meet their ſouls in Heaven.

I have no more to ſay, but to deſire the help of all your prayers, that God would give me the continuance and ſupply of Divine grace to carry me through this great work I am now to doe; that I, who am to doe a work I never did, I may have a ſtrength that I never had; that I may put off this body with as much quietneſſe and comfort of mind, as ever I put off my Cleaths to goe to bed. And now I am to commend my ſoule to God, and to receive my fatall blow, I am comforted in this, though men kill me, they cannot damne me, and tho they thruſt me out of the world, yet they cannot ſhut me out of heaven. I am now going to my long home, to heaven my fathers houſe, to the heavenly *Ieruſalem*, to the innumerable Company of Angels, to Jeſus Chriſt the Mediator of the new Covenant, to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, to God the Judge of all, in whoſe preſence there is fulneſſe of joy, and at whoſe right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

Then he kneeled down and made a ſhort Prayer privately.

Then after riſing up, he ſaid, Bleſſed be God I am full of joy and peace in believing, I lye down with a world of comfort. And then ſaying The Lord bleſs you, he lay down with his head over the block, and when he ſtretched out his hands, the Executioner did his office.

The humble Petition of William Jenkins, *Priſoner.*

Moſt humbly ſheweth;

THat your Petitioner is unfeignedly ſorrowfull for all his late miſcarriages, whether teſtified againſt him, or acknowledg'd by him, and for the great and ſinfull unſutableneſſe of them to his Calling and Condition.

That upon earneſt ſeeking of God, and diligent enquiry into his will, your Petitioner is convinced, that the alterations of Civill Governments are ordered by, and founded upon the wiſe and righteous providences of God, who removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings, ruleth in the Kingdomes of men, and giveth them to whomſoever he will.

That the providences of this God, have in the judgement of your Petitioner, as evidently appeared in the removing of others from, and the inveſting your Honours with the Government of this Nation, as

ever they appeared in the taking away, or beſtowing of any Government in any Hiſtory of any age of the World.

That he apprehends, that a refuſall to be ſubject to this preſent authority, under the pretence of upholding the Title of any one upon earth, is a refuſall to acquieſce in the wiſe and righteous pleaſure of God, ſuch an oppoſing of the Government ſet up by the Soveraign Lord of Heaven and Earth, as none can have peace, either in acting in, or ſuffering for, and that your Petitioner looks upon it as his duty, to yeeld to this authority, all active and cheerfull obedience in the Lord, even for Conſcience ſake, to promiſe (he being required) truth and fidelity to it, and to hold forth the grounds of his ſo doing to any as God ſhall call him thereunto.

That though an impriſonment, accompanied with the loſſe of Eſtate, and to be followed (without your gracious prevention) with a ſpeedy Arraignment before a high and eminent Judicatory, are far from being pleaſant to fleſh and blood, and though the injoyment of your grace and favour, be a bleſſing moſt deſerving to be reckoned among the beſt of temporals, yet that neither the feeling, and fearing of the former, nor the expectation of the latter, could have induced your Petitioner againſt the light of his owne judgement, and the prepondering part of his owne conſcience to have made, or preſenting this acknowledgment, he ſadly fore-caſting, that a whole ſkin is but a contemptible recompence for a wounded conſcience. *WIL: JENKIN.*

Sept. 3. 1651. A Victory obtained over the Scotch Army at *Worceſter*. This day twelve months was glorious at *Dunbar*, but this day hath been very glorious before *Worceſter*; the Word was, *The Lord of Hoſts*, and ſo it was now; the ſame ſignall we had now as then, which was to have no white about us, yet the Lord hath cloathed us with white Garments though to the Enemy they have been bloody, onely here lyeth the difference, that at *Dunbar* our Work was at break of day, but now it began towards the cloſe of the evening, 10000 taken and 3000 ſlain of the Enemy, about 200 of ours. The General hazarding himſelfe, rode up to the Enemies Forts, offering them Quarter, whereto they returned no anſwer but ſhot.

Sept. 1. *Dundee* taken by ſtorm, 60 ſhips in the Harbour, 40 Guns.

The Scots King beaten at Worceſter, *gets into a hollow Tree, remains there a night, next day in a Wood, cuts his haire ſhort, ſhips for* Havre de Grace, *and ſo to* Paris.

Sir, The Scottiſh King came hither on *Munday* the laſt of *October*, N. S. and being demanded by his Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, how he eſcaped the Fight of *Worceſter*, gave them this account.

That about ſix a Clock in the evening, his Army being in all likelihood loſt, he quitted *Wor.* Towne, with a party of Horſe, and marched

ched toward *Lancaſhire*, but being fearfull of being purſued, and o the *Scottiſh* Officers that might deliver him up, he with the L: *Wilmot* quitted their Horſes, and betook themſelves next day to a Tree, where they ſtaid till night, and then marched, the third day they lay in a wood, and at night marched toward *Lancaſhire*, a Lady receiving them, furniſhed them with Cloaths for a diſguiſe, and cut off their haire. Having repoſed 2 or 3 dayes, ſhe endeavoured to ſhip them out of *England*, and ſhe riding behind the King, and *Wilmot* as another Servant by, they went to *Briſtoll*, but finding a narrow inquiry there, reſolved to go for *London*, where they ſtayed 3 week. The King one day went into *Weſtminſter* Hall, where he ſaw the States Arms, and Scots Colours; my Lord *Wilmot* procured a Merchant to hire a ſhip of forty Tuns to tranſport them, which coſt them a hundred and

twenty pounds, but where they took ſhipping is not known: but as ſoon as my Lord was entred the Barque, and the King as his Servant, the Maſter came to him, and told him that he knew the King, and in caſe it ſhould be known, he could expect no mercy: which ſaying troubled them, but at length, what with money and promiſes, they prevailed, and ſo ſet ſaile for *Havre de Grace*, where they landed, and from thence to *Roven*, where they cloathed themſelves, and writ to *Paris*. His arrivall there will put them to new Counſels, ſince, now they cannot ſend their Ambaſſadors, which was concluded on before his comiug. The Duke of *Orleans* fercht him into Towne, and expreſſed much as to ſerve him. Yeſterday, he, with *Thurenne*, *Beaufort*, and the D. of *Guiſe* came to him to the *Louvre*, where the King told them, that they ſhould endeavour to reconcile the breach between the Prince and the King of *France*, for, ſaid he, to my knowledge the Engliſh will viſit you with an Army in the Spring.

Octob. 15. 1651. Earl of *Darby* Beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*. *Octob.* 30. The Iſle of *Jerſey* taken. *Nov.* 16. The Iſle of *Man* taken.

Reſolve: That the time for the continuance of this Parl. beyond which they reſolve not to ſit, ſhall be *Nov.* 3. 1654.

The Parl. of the Common-wealth of England *Declare*;

1 THat no Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority, otherwiſe then from the Parl. of *Engl:* be uſed, exerciſed, or enjoyned within *Scotl:* or the Iſles, or any of the Territories thereof.

2 That they doe forbid, annull, and make voyd the uſe and exerciſe of any Power, Juriſdiction, and Authority whatſoever, within *Scotl:* or the Iſles, or any of the Territories thereof, other then ſuch as ſhall be ſo derived.

An Act of Generall Pardon and Oblivion, Feb. 24. 1651.

THe Parl. of *England* having had good experience of the affections of the people to this preſent Government, by their ready aſſiſtance againſt *Charls Stuart* Sonne of the late Tyrant, and the Forces lately invading this Nation under his Command; and being much afflicted with the miſerable and ſad effects which the late unnaturall War hath produced, and reſolved to ſettle the peace and freedome of this Common wealth; and being deſirous that the minds, perſons, and Eſtates of all the people of this Nation might be compoſed, ſetled, and ſecured, and that all rancour and evill will occaſioned by the late differences, may be buried in perpetuall Oblivion, Be it Enacted by this preſent Parl. and by Authority of the ſame, That all and every perſon or perſons of or within the Common-wealth of *England*, the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Garnſey*, the Towne of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and the Heirs, Execut: and Admin: of them and every of them, and all and ſingular bodies in any manner incorporated, Cities, Burroughs, Shires, *&c.* and every of them are, and ſhall be acquitted and pardoned, of all Treaſons, Felonies, Offences, *&c.* done before *Sept.* 3. 1651. not in this preſent Act hereafter not excepted nor foreprized. And the ſaid Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, granteth

granteth and freely giveth to every of them, all Goods, Debts, Chattels, Fines, which to the said Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, do belong or appertain, before *Sept.* 3. and which be not hereafter in this Act foreprized and excepted. And it is further Enacted, That this Pardon shall be taken in Courts of Justice, available to all and singular the said persons, *&c.* shall be arrested, *&c.* for any thing acquitted by this Act, every person so offending, shall pay to him offended, his treble damages, and 10. *l.* to the State. Excepted all High-Treasons (other then for words only) and all levying of war, rebellions, insurrections, and conspiracies committed against the Par. since *Jan.* 30. 1648. And all concealments of the said offences. And all voluntary Murthers, petty Treasons, poysoning, piracies, buggeries, rapes, ravishments, marrying any one against her will. And also all persons now attained for petty treason, murther, poysoning, conjurations, witchcrafts, charms, detainments of Customs, and sums of money due upon Composition, Excise, or New-Imposts; all Conditions, Covenants, and penalties of forfeitures due to the Parl. or the late K. since *Jan.* 30. 1648. All first fruits, and Tithes, and all offences and misdemeanours, whereof any sentence or judgment hath been given in Parl. since *Jan.* 30. 1648. And all offences of Bribery, perjuries, and subordination of Witnesses, counterfeiting Deeds, Debenters, Bills of Publick Faith, Escripts, or writings whatsoever, carrying over Seas any Coyn or Jewels, melting downe of Gold or Bullion, *&c.* detaining the Goods, *&c.* of the late King or Queen, all offences committed by any Jesuite, any Outlawries upon any writ of *Capias ad satisfaciendum*, and all, except such persons as were *Jan.* 28. 1651. in prison by Order of Parl. and all proceedings concerning common High-wayes, all Fee-farm-rents, and arrerages due since *June* 24. 1647. all moneys impressed since *Nov.* 3. 1638. Provided all Acts of Hostility between the late King and Parl. or between any of the people of this Nation, or falling out by reason of the late troubles, shall in no time after *June* 18. 1651. be called in question.

The *DECLARATION* of the Lord Generall and his Councel of Officers shewing the Grounds and Reasons for the Dissolving the Parliament, *April* 20. 1653.

AFter it had pleased God not only to reduce Ireland, *and give in* Scotland *but so marvellously to appeare for his people at* Worcester, *that those Nations were reduced to a great degree of peace, it was matter of grief to many well affected, in the Land, to see the Cause of God so little forwarded by the Parl. whereupon they applied to the Army, expecting redresse by them, notwithstanding which, the Army being unwilling to meddle with the Civill Authority, in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, That his Excellency and Officers of the Army should be desired to move the Parl. to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amisse in Government; which having*

having done, we hoped that the Parl. would ſeaſonably have anſwered our expectations, but finding delayes therein, we renewed our deſires in a Petition in Auguſt laſt, and although they ſignified their good acceptance thereof, and referred the particulars to a Committee of the Houſe, yet no conſiderable effect was produced, but there more and more appeared among them an averſion to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſſe and oppoſition to the people of God; which grew ſo prevalent, that thoſe perſons of honour and integrity who

had eminently appeared for God and the publick good, were rendred of no further uſe in Parl. then by meeting with a corrupt party to give them countenance to carry on their ends For which purpoſe, they frequently declared themſelves againſt having a New Repreſentative, and when they were neceſſitated to take that Bill into conſideration, they reſolv'd to make uſe of it to recruit the Houſe with perſons of the ſame temper, thereby to perpetuate their owne ſitting, which intention divers of the moſt active did manifeſt, labouring to perſwade others to a conſent therein; and divers Petitions preparing from ſeverall Counties for the continuance of this Parl. were encouraged by them. For obviating theſe evills, the Officers of the Army obtained ſeverall Meetings with ſome of the Parl. to conſider what fitting meanes might be applyed to prevent the ſame; but ſuch endeavours proving altogether ineffectuall, it became moſt evident to the Army, that this Parl. would never anſwer thoſe ends, which God, his people, and the whole Nation expected from them. But that this Cauſe muſt needs languiſh under their hands, and be wholly loſt. All which being ſadly conſidered by the honeſt people of this Nation, as well as by the Army, and wiſdome and direction being ſought from the Lord, it ſeemed to be a duty incumbent upon us to conſider of ſome more effectuall means to ſecure the Cauſe which the good people of this Common wealth have been ſo long engaged in, and to ſtabliſh peace in theſe Nations. And after much debate it was judged neceſſary, that the Supream Authority ſhould be devolved upon known perſons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity, and committed unto them for a time, as the moſt hopefull way to encourage and countenance all Gods people, reform the Law, and adminiſter juſtice impartially

partially, hoping thereby the people might forget Monarchy, and have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, and necessitating to keep up Arms for the defence of the same. And being still resolved to use all means possible to prevent extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parl. to give us a Conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justnesse of our Proposals, and did evidence that these would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, the foundation whereof God himselfe hath laid. The which found no acceptance, but it was offered, that the way was to continue still this Parl. as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things; and this being insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof to perpetuate themselves, was their aim. They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, that neither the Nation, the honest interest, nor we our selves would be deluded by such dealings, did agree to meet again next day in the afternoon, and nothing in the mean time should be done, that might frustrate the Proposals. Notwithstanding the Parl. next morning did make more hast then usuall in carrying on their said Act, being helped therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before, none of them endeavouring to oppose the same, and being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our Proposals would have been made void. For preventing whereof, we have been necessitated to put an End to this Parliament. And desire that all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their owne destruction, should wait for such issue as he shall bring forth, and to follow their businesse with peaceable spirits, wherein we promise them protection by his assistance.

FINIS.